NATO Parliamentary Assembly

1955 - 2005

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50 Years of Parliamentary Diplomacy

This book was produced with the generous assistance of the parliaments of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovenia, and Turkey.

Editor's Note

In 2004 the Assembly's Standing Committee decided to commemorate the Assembly's 50th anniversary. It was decided to hold a special plenary sitting during the 50th annual session. To that end, during that session, which took place in Venice, a special meeting was held involving, for the first time, the permanent representatives to the North Atlantic Council. This was an outstanding success, as a record number of session participants – over a thousand – clearly showed.

The Standing Committee also decided that the Assembly should produce a commemorative book as an enduring way of marking this important milestone in the Assembly's history. The volume should cover the entire span of the Assembly's existence, but focus specifically on the Assembly's role from the end of the Cold War. This was a period of profound significance for all nations in the Euro-Atlantic region, and which saw a transformation – almost a renaissance – of the Assembly. Not only did the Assembly become an inclusive forum for parliamentarians from nations beyond NATO's borders, it became a means for assisting the democratic revolutions sweeping Central and Eastern Europe and for promoting the values and principles upon which the Alliance and the Assembly were founded.

It was further agreed that rather than a historical narrative, the book should be based on contributions from the parliamentarians themselves who had actively participated in the Assembly during these key years: traditional, new and potential members and partners along with a few from key parliamentary and Assembly staff. Together with my deputy, David Hobbs, I have undertaken responsibility for organizing and editing the contributions.

In doing so, we had to make several decisions which merit mention, even though they might seem small to a casual reader. The first was how to list the positions that contributors have held within the Assembly. The problem is that many of the contributors are almost by definition extremely active within the Assembly, and those who have been long-serving members have occupied key positions on any number of committees and sub-committees (many of which have rather lengthy titles). We therefore decided to list only the most senior offices held: committee chairs and positions on the Assembly's Bureau – President, Vice-President and Treasurer.

There can also be sensitivities about the names used for certain countries: here we were guided by the authors themselves and used the terms they themselves chose.

There may be slight inconsistencies between articles. However, as we have aimed for articles based on personal recollections, we have not attempted to reconcile occasional differences or discrepancies. Our goal was to retain the original spontaneity of the authors' perceptions and memories.

As with so many projects of this kind, the book has evolved and become more substantial than was first envisaged. Contributions were generally longer than anticipated and as we began to see a whole picture of the project emerging, it became clear that it would merit a more visually appealing and enduring format than was foreseen at the outset. This had obvious financial implications, but several delegations came forward with generous offers of assistance. I would therefore like to extend our thanks to the delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovenia and Turkey, who made special contributions to ensure the book's completion in its present form.

Several of the Assembly's staff have been involved in the production of this book but two in particular should be singled out. The task of editing and producing this book was made much easier by the head of the Assembly's Documents Service, Dominique Gins, and her able team who rose magnificently to the challenge of producing a volume of this size in two languages and who were deeply involved in every aspect of its preparation from layout and style to proofreading and finding photographs. My executive assistant, Susan Millar, also deserves a special mention: she was central to the considerable task of co-ordinating the project which she did with her usual efficiency and attention to detail, plus considerable measures of tact and tenacity as she pursued the final contributions (including my own).

Finally, we would like to thank all those who contributed the articles that make up this volume. The Assembly has an excellent story to tell, and the contributors have certainly done it justice. We hope that the Assembly's membership will think likewise.

Simon Lunn
Secretary General of the NATO
Parliamentary Assembly

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Preface

For half a century, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has been a vital link between NATO and the wider public. The Assembly has offered vital input and strategic thinking to NATO's ongoing work. It has acted both as an indicator of public opinion and as a channel for informing that same opinion. It has helped parliamentarians to learn about the views and concerns of colleagues in other countries, and to adequately reflect Alliance interests and considerations in their national discussions. Moreover, as the only body that brings together European and North American legislators on a regular basis, the Assembly has nurtured the transatlantic relationship. All those different roles were critical to NATO in the past. They are no less important now and into the future.

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer
NATO Secretary General and Chairman of the North Atlantic Council.

In the late 1980s, the Assembly reacted promptly and decisively to a rapidly changing security environment. Indeed, it added an all-European dimension to its transatlantic vocation even before NATO itself was able to do so. By reaching out to Central and Eastern Europe, involving legislators from countries in the region in co-operation and dialogue, and assisting them in exercising effective parliamentary oversight and control, the Assembly made a vital contribution to the construction of a more stable, secure and democratic Europe. That pioneering work remains very important today, alongside NATO's own efforts to engage its Partner countries politically and militarily, and to foster a genuine Euro-Atlantic security culture.

The last few years have presented an entirely new set of challenges: the onset of a new breed of apocalyptic terrorism, the danger of weapons of mass destruction getting into the hands of irresponsible people, and "failed states" causing instability in their own region and well beyond. NATO has adapted to these new challenges, and will continue to do so. The Alliance today is prepared to tackle risks and threats from wherever they may originate. We are leading complex operations in the Balkans, Afghanistan, the Mediterranean and most recently a training mission in Iraq. We have embarked upon a major transformation of our capabilities, structures and procedures to sustain such a more pro-active, functional approach to security. We have enhanced our co-operation with our Partner countries and with other international organisations. And we have given a fresh impulse to NATO's role as a unique forum for transatlantic political dialogue.

Against this background, the role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has evolved as well. It plays a key role in explaining the new security environment to our citizens – making clear that NATO's new missions are as essential to their personal security as the deterrence role that the Alliance played in the past. The Assembly can be instrumental, also, in dispelling the still widely held belief that we can have security on the cheap – explaining why NATO's new missions require new, and different, capabilities. As a successful network of co-operation reaching far beyond the NATO member states, the Assembly is well suited to make the case for greater co-operation among nations and institutions to deal with the new risks and threats. And it goes without saying that frank and forward-looking debate among parliamentarians is a critical dimension of the political dialogue we are promoting within NATO.

Like the Alliance itself, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has demonstrated that it is able to adapt to meet changing security requirements. Like the Alliance, the Assembly has become more open, more flexible, and more effective at fostering dialogue, building co-operation, projecting stability, and promoting our common values. Our fruitful co-operation over the past 50 years makes me confident that, together, we can ensure the continued vitality of the NATO Alliance.

Foreword

Pierre Lellouche
President of the
NATO Parliamentary
Assembly.
Head of the French
Delegation.

Half a century after its founding, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly celebrates this major anniversary at a crucial moment in the history of the member countries of the Atlantic Alliance, which today are faced with challenges that are unprecedented in many respects. Yet, I have no doubt that, working together – government officials, legislators and the general public – we will be able to surmount these new challenges, just as we have surmounted those of the past.

The creation of the Assembly in 1955, six years after the signing of the Treaty of Washington that established the Atlantic Alliance, came in response to a need felt by parliamentarians themselves to be directly involved in the fundamental choices affecting the national security of the member states and that of the democratic world as a whole. In fact, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly is the only one of the major interparliamentary assemblies that originated by parliamentary initiative, not through an intergovernmental treaty. In the context of the time, which was marked by the Cold War and the Soviet threat in Europe and elsewhere in the world, the democratically elected parliamentarians of the member nations of the Alliance felt compelled to become fully engaged in the defence of freedom. The Atlantic Alliance is and remains, above all, a community of democratic nations, forged out of the trials of war and united by common values. It was the firm commitment of our peoples to the defence of freedom that enabled the western Allies to defeat totalitarianism and Nazi barbarism during the Second World War. And it was that same commitment that enabled the NATO Allies to contain the spread of communism during the long years of the Cold War. The result was the peaceful triumph of democracy over an anti-freedom ideology that had for too long kept the European continent divided, at which time the Alliance and its Parliamentary Assembly welcomed among their number the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. The latter now make a valuable contribution to their actions in a newly-reunified Europe. The same goes for the original co-operation set up some ten years ago with Russia, whose growing embrace of democracy we welcome.

But, with the Cold War behind us, the challenges facing democracies are no less daunting. We must confront the threat of mass terrorism, which first made its appearance on 11 September 2001 in New York, and then reappeared in Madrid and in London, and which now represents a universal threat striking at the heart of our communities in North America and in Europe. As in the past, it is freedom that is under attack. It is freedom that is intolerable to the reactionary ideologues of what I have called “green fascism” – a scourge that threatens not only the Arab and Islamic world, on which it will inflict the greatest damage, but also, in this age of globalization and interdependence, our western societies. However, as in the past, we will, with strength of will, clear-sightedness and determination, successfully overcome these challenges. The NATO Parliamentary Assembly has, I feel certain, an essential contribution to make in the years to come, and those years will be decisive.

With the widening of NATO’s field of operations, the Assembly also has to be at the forefront in dealing with nuclear proliferation. It has a duty to contribute to the thinking on the subject, to the debate at national level, and to a concerted effort to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, primarily among non-democratic states.

In this ever-changing world, the Parliamentary Assembly owes it to itself to give broad consideration to the rise in power of China. On the basis of its huge population and industrial mass, this country, home to a very ancient civilization, is seeking to take a place among the leading nations of the world. Its emergence in every area is already causing tensions on the markets for raw materials and energy, as well as entailing the strengthening of its military power to control the shipping lanes that are vital to its trade. This rise in power will

continue over the coming fifty years, forcing NATO to define a consistent policy towards the country. Peace in the world will largely depend on the closeness and the quality of our relationship with China.

In all of these major matters, the role of the national parliamentarians from the member countries of the Alliance who make up the NATO Parliamentary Assembly must not be underestimated. That role has been significant over the past five decades and it will remain significant, because our countries are democracies, governed by the principles of popular sovereignty, the separation of powers, the rule of law and democratic control over the armed forces. One of the key manifestations of this role is legislative approval of defence budgets, the level and appropriateness of which are subject to debate and vote within national parliaments. These debates, in turn, are shaped by the discussions that occur within our Assembly, which make it possible to examine together the respective efforts of individual countries and to assess jointly the priorities, the threats and the challenges, and the possibilities for dealing with them. In this regard, even if there may be disagreements among the Allies – the most notable having been over Iraq – the debates within the Parliamentary Assembly always remain characterized by an exemplary calm, friendship and tolerance, the mark of countries united by shared values.

Our members also have a crucial role to play in approving the deployment of troops in external theatres of operations; this situation is becoming increasingly frequent with "non-Article 5" crisis management and peace support operations. In all these areas, the members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly have a vital role to play, both within their national parliaments and vis-à-vis their constituents in explaining, in debating – with full disclosure of the issues involved – and in enhancing public understanding of the policies of the Alliance, which is essential to its legitimacy and, ultimately, its success. Regardless of the issue – the past arm wrestling over Euromissiles; more recently the crisis in Kosovo or the deployment of the stabilization force in Afghanistan – the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

has never failed to meet the expectations and ensure the support of public opinion. We are all well aware that wars today are won as much at home as on the front lines. At first glance, this might be taken as a sign of a relative weakness in democracies, but it is nothing of the sort. In fact, an open and enlightened debate constitutes the best guarantee of lasting support on the part of our fellow citizens.

The world in which we live is infinitely more complex and more dangerous even than that of the Cold War. It is my profound belief that our Alliance will be more indispensable than ever in ensuring the safety of our peoples in the face of new threats, in particular those associated with terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore essential to reinforce, or, if necessary, to repair or "mend" our transatlantic ties, which have been – there is no point in trying to pretend otherwise – somewhat strained by the Iraq issue, with the tendency of some to act unilaterally and of others to create division or to hold back from acting at all. We must now recreate the conditions for a new transatlantic consensus, basing it on clear principles. These can be summed up simply as follows: the Alliance of democracies remains essential for peace in the world. The United States, notwithstanding all its current might, will be able to find no benefit in a policy of unilateralism and will be unable to ensure its security on its own. It is unlikely to find any partner outside of Europe to stand with it in managing global affairs and defending its fundamental values. At the same time, Europe has the duty to build up its own defences and to move beyond merely embryonic forces. It must define a genuine doctrine, it must accept the budgetary commitments necessary to set up credible forces, all the time bearing in mind that its future common defence policy, which for my part I fully support, does not have the objective of opposing the United States, but of building together with it a world freed of all threats. It falls to us, parliamentarians and politicians of Europe and North America, to continue impressing these truths on our fellow citizens, without fear of political correctness or transitory shifts in public opinion.

Only in this way will we be able to tackle the challenges of the moment. We must, together, continue the work of stabilization under way in the Balkans and in Afghanistan, theatres of operations that are visited regularly by NATO parliamentarians. We must also work to consolidate democracy and enable it to flourish along the eastern borders of the expanded Alliance, because democracy is the sole guarantee of true stability in the countries that are now our neighbours. I think of Ukraine, where we, as NATO parliamentarians, played a key role in the monitoring of the presidential elections in late 2004, and with which our interaction is bound to intensify, given the new aspirations expressed by that country vis-à-vis the Alliance. But I also think of Belarus, where the dictatorship will not last for ever, and Moldova and the countries of the South Caucasus, which all aspire to see democracy take root and prosper. And, on the other side of the Caucasus, we cannot forget Russia, which is grappling with all the ethnic, religious, nationalist and border conflicts of the post-Cold War era and in particular with the eruption of terrorism perpetrated by proponents of radical Islam. We must maintain a constructive relationship with Russia on a whole range of issues related to our common security.

We must also pay more attention to strengthening our ties with the South – that is to say, the countries of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. That, to my mind, is the major strategic issue of the next 50 years, together with the rise in power of China. At stake is whether we will succeed in building with the Arab and Muslim world and its billion and a half inhabitants a peaceful partnership in which that world, coming to terms with our democratic values, will realize its full economic potential in the framework of globalization, or whether, conversely, we will move towards a violent separation, as is the wish of the fanatic militants of extremist Islam, for whom the only option is all-out war against the West. Terrorism, which thrives in the breeding ground of underdevelopment, despair and ignorance, cannot be defeated solely with tanks and missiles. It is through economic development, promotion of the values of democracy, education and equality between men and

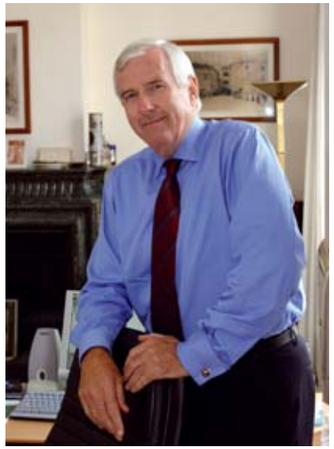
women that terrorism will be truly and fully eradicated. Our Assembly, through its Mediterranean Special Group, can play a critical role in relating to the political leadership and the various elements of civil society in many of these countries, as has been shown by the intensification of our dialogue, which has resulted in several Arab states being granted observer status at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

As we move into the twenty-first century, we must make the fight against terrorism, which any day could – God forbid! – become a terrorism of mass destruction, our *immediate* priority, addressing both its causes and its manifestations. We must not delay in furthering the discussions within this Assembly already under way on civil defence. The terrorist attacks of July 2005 in London – which could have claimed many more lives had the various public services been less well prepared, but which nevertheless had a tragic impact – highlighted the crucial need to redouble efforts to improve the protection of our fellow citizens. We, who are the elected representatives of our people, are naturally particularly sensitive to this need. Our responsibility is to spur the decision-makers in each of our countries, in the NATO framework or in other fora, to take the necessary steps and to do so without delay.

This is my view – a view that is realistic but that is also committed to success and that is, above all, optimistic – of the issues confronting us on this anniversary, where we can take stock of what we have achieved together through the years and to consider the work ahead of us. Like the Secretary General of NATO, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, I feel confident about the future. I have seen with my own eyes, from the streets of Sarajevo to those of Kabul, the outstanding work of our soldiers to re-establish peace and, little by little, to build democracy. I know that we have in our ranks, among the men and women in our various countries, the principal resource that will ensure the eternal vitality of the Atlantic Alliance: this unwavering passion for freedom remains, through the diversity of our nations, our richest resource.

Conference of NATO Parliamentarians, Washington DC, 1959 (top picture). Joint meeting of the Assembly and the North Atlantique Council, 2004 (pictures below).

CHAPTER 1 The Evolving Role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly



Simon Lunn
Secretary General of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

The role of the NATO PA has to be seen in two distinct phases. During the Cold War the Assembly provided parliamentary support for the collective Alliance effort to defend the values and democratic way of life of its members. This was an important although reactive and essentially peripheral role receiving only modest recognition and support from NATO. However, with the end of the Cold War and the transformation of NATO, moving from confrontation to co-operation and inviting former adversaries in rather than keeping them out, the Assembly's role changed profoundly. It was able to play an active part in the promotion of Alliance values and the spread of democratic institutions and practices, becoming a contributor in its own right and a partner to NATO in the encouragement and consolidation of democratic norms. In both periods the essential nature and character of the Assembly as a gathering of democratically elected legislators for dialogue and exchange remained the same, but the purpose and consequences of its activities changed significantly. Likewise, the Assembly's relationship with NATO and its public profile, both of which were a recurrent source of concern for many members during the Cold War, were considerably improved as the Assembly's work became an integral part of NATO's policies of partnership and co-operation.

From the time of its creation in 1955 until the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Assembly fulfilled what could be described as a classic interparliamentary function in supporting its governmental counterpart, NATO. It provided a forum in which Alliance legislators could meet on a regular basis in order to exchange views on the threats and consequential defence requirements emanating from the communist bloc. Its activities helped generate the parliamentary and public support deemed indispensable for the success of NATO policies and

contributed towards making these policies more transparent. A key component of this dialogue was its transatlantic dimension. The Assembly was the forum in which the North American legislators discussed defence and security with their European counterparts – providing, therefore, the essential legislative underpinning of the transatlantic partnership.

While the Assembly was created to further the aims of the Alliance, it was never a simple supporters club or a NATO choir singing the Alliance's praises. Assembly reports periodically took issue with Alliance policies and Assembly sessions were frequently marked by vibrant debate and division. Issues such as the ever-sensitive question of the role of nuclear weapons, or the balance to be struck in relations with the Soviet Union between deterrence and détente or the question of Alliance burden-sharing could all be guaranteed to stimulate discussion and no little dissent. The Assembly's activities, therefore, provided a useful indicator of collective parliamentary opinion on specific issues for those governments who chose to listen. This, however, was where the problem began. Who was listening? The Assembly had no formal status with NATO. There was, therefore, no formal obligation for Alliance nations to respond to Assembly pronouncements. The Washington Treaty does not mention the need for a consultative parliamentary body; was this an oversight or a deliberate omission on the grounds that the business of the Cold War should be left to the professional diplomats and military? One can only surmise. However, as David Hobbs describes in the next chapter, Alliance parliamentarians thought differently, hence the creation of the Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO countries in 1955, later becoming the North Atlantic Assembly and then the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

As David recounts, relations with NATO developed slowly and tentatively. Several efforts by the Assembly to create a more formal linkage to NATO through institutionalisation and even an Assembly presence at NATO deliberations were thoroughly rebuffed. Instead, a series of practical steps was eventually agreed that established a framework of practical and political co-operation between the two bodies. However, in the views of most members, these improvements did not adequately reflect the Assembly's value to the Alliance; nor did they address what most members saw as the basic problem: NATO's lack of enthusiasm and even indifference to the existence of the Assembly and its activities.

Some members, however, though rankled by official attitudes, were less concerned about the issue of status. They believed that the Assembly's primary purpose lay in the field of building parliamentary awareness and understanding through legislative exchange – learning from each other. For them, this provided the Assembly's "raison d'être", rather than its relationship with NATO. Moreover, they saw independence from NATO as an advantage, giving the parliamentary side the flexibility to pursue a broader range of issues than the political and military issues that were the core business of the Alliance. Hence the tradition

of the Assembly's committees – the Economics and Security and the Science and Technology Committees in particular – to cover issues not normally on NATO's agenda but of salience to the wider interests and responsibilities of most legislators. The same independence would later give the Assembly the flexibility to play a pioneering role in initiating contacts with reform-minded forces in Central and Eastern Europe[1] during the twilight of the Cold War and to play the role it has assumed today.

Despite these advantages, the absence of a more structured relationship between the Assembly and NATO and the apparent lack of recognition and appreciation of the Assembly's work by the Alliance was a recurrent concern among many Assembly members.

Their concerns were justified. Most Alliance governments welcomed the principle of parliamentary support. However, it was clear that they did not want to see this involvement become too close, nor allow any suggestion that the relationship implied any formal obligation on the part of the Alliance. There could be no attempt to assert collective parliamentary oversight in the conventional sense of the term. Rather, the Assembly was seen as a useful asset in the constant struggle for public support for NATO policies and the resources to implement them; this was particularly true during critical phases such as the 1979 "double-track" decision on intermediate-range nuclear forces and other controversial issues concerning Alliance strategy. In these instances strenuous efforts were made by NATO officials to ensure that the Assembly was "on message". In the climate of the Cold War, criticism of official NATO positions was much less well received and more often than not quietly ignored or, even worse, subject itself to the criticism that it was giving "aid to the enemy".

Alliance communiqués routinely repeated the need for public and parliamentary support, yet this rarely translated into recognition or active encouragement of the Assembly's work; mention of the Assembly in those same communiqués was rare and when it did appear, meagre to say the least. Even the necessity of such a reference was often questioned by some national delegations at NATO.

There was little sign in these years that the Assembly's work or views had any impact on NATO policy. Assembly resolutions and recommendations received scant attention. The replies to these texts from NATO's Secretary General, on his own behalf – one of the practical steps to improve relations – were no more than a routine recitation of general principles. The quality of Assembly texts themselves sometimes left something to be desired, but the quality of the replies left Assembly members in no doubt that they were outside the policy "loop". For most members this situation was a constant source of frustration and irritation.

Alliance attitudes towards the Assembly often reflected the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government prevailing in the respective member countries. For example, the power and influence of the US Congress and the active participation in the

1. The contributions in chapters 3, 4 and 5 well describe the Assembly's work during this remarkable period in its history.

Assembly of American Congressional representatives meant that the Assembly almost always enjoyed the support of the US Administration and its representative at NATO[2].

Washington 1974. Leaders of the US Delegation, Senator Jacob Javits, Congressman Wayne Hays with Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, greeting Assembly member, Piet Dankert (Netherlands), other members and an earlier version of the author.

2. A by-product of the American approach to legislative oversight was the consistently high level of the officials in Washington who received visiting Assembly groups. Another aspect was the provision of information. Many members found that they received more information about their own armed forces in Department of Defense briefings than they received at home!

Other nations, however, varied in their enthusiasm. Most preferred to see the Assembly as a potentially helpful but strictly unofficial body that should be encouraged and humoured but kept at arms' length. Others took an even more dismissive approach; the Assembly was an unofficial body, period.

At first sight, these official views would appear surprising, even paradoxical, and certainly counter-productive. The need for public and parliamentary support was widely acknowledged at the national and Alliance level, and understandably so. After all, while the degree of involvement of parliaments in defence and security varies widely from country to country, most parliaments enjoy formal powers of scrutiny and oversight including the all-important "power of the purse" and in most countries, parliamentary assent is required for the deployment of armed forces. Even more significantly, in all member countries, parliamentarians constitute a vital link to their societies. They are most directly responsible to the electorate for explaining and justifying why money has to be spent on defence and why the lives of their armed forces must be put at risk. They are the democratic lifeblood of the Alliance.

So, given the essential role played by parliamentarians in most countries in the field of defence, what explains NATO's lukewarm response to the body that represented the collective parliamentary opinion of the Alliance?

In looking for explanations it is important to distinguish two different levels of Assembly frustration. The first concerned the question of influence on Alliance decision-making. Assembly members wanted to see that their work was having an impact on NATO policies or at least to have tangible evidence that their views were taken into account. The

second concerned the wish for greater co-operation with NATO and for greater recognition and acknowledgement by the Alliance of the Assembly's worth. Both of these concerns relate to the issue of relevance. Beyond the obvious benefits of interparliamentary dialogue, many Assembly members wanted to feel that their work had a broader relevance to the development of Alliance policies than appeared to be the case.

The most obvious explanation for Alliance attitudes to the Assembly during these years is the lack of official status. However, this is not an adequate answer because the status issue was effectively bypassed by the establishment of a working relationship, limited though it was, and the gradual development of the Assembly into a well-established and thriving entity. The explanation for NATO attitudes towards the Assembly derived more from fundamental areas to do with function and attitude.

In terms of function, NATO and the Assembly are intergovernmental and interparliamentary bodies[3] respectively. "Intergovernmental" means that Alliance policies are determined by nations – driven from the bottom not dictated from the "top" – and on the basis of consensus. National positions are defined in capitals and forwarded to ambassadors who, through the consultation process, explore how to reach an agreed position. Achieving this consensus can be a lengthy process, inevitably involving compromise and concession. It is not a process that lends itself to direct parliamentary accountability or to the sudden injection of views by an external parliamentary source.

3. All interparliamentary organizations face the problem of influencing their intergovernmental counterpart to a lesser or greater degree.

In other words, direct influence on Alliance decision-making is not a practical goal. But even if it were, it is equally difficult to produce a collective Assembly view. The Assembly is a broad church bringing together a wide range of political parties and opinions. Collective Assembly views are expressed once a year in the resolutions that emerge from Assembly reports. These texts are agreed first in the respective committees, and then agreed and adopted by the Assembly as a whole in plenary at the annual session. Assembly resolutions inevitably suffer the limitations of being debated and adopted in a relatively limited space of time – and from the give and take necessary to reach agreement and reconcile different views. It is often said that the debate and discussion which surrounds the adoption of a resolution is more important than the final product itself. Nevertheless and notwithstanding these limitations, Assembly resolutions can provide, as noted earlier, a periodic reality check as to collective Assembly thinking on the key issues of the day, but certainly not day-to-day input on the NATO consensus-building process.

In summary then the Assembly's role vis-à-vis NATO lies outside the realm of direct influence, and more in making NATO policies more transparent and comprehensible. Certainly it is to be hoped that Assembly deliberations feed back into the Alliance policy-making process by one way or another. But the most obvious route is through national parliaments, many of which have a direct influence on policy. In this sense, by helping national

parliamentarians play a more effective role in their own policy debates, the Assembly can be said to have an indirect influence on Alliance policies. In this respect, it is also important to note that Assembly reports complement the information made available at the national level, which in some countries can be rather sparse, and thereby provide members with alternative assessments with which to review the information provided by their national authorities.

The second aspect, NATO's reluctance to give the Assembly greater recognition and support, is the result of more general attitudes towards parliamentary involvement in defence. These vary from country to country. However, it is fair to say that defence is an area where most governments are particularly sensitive to parliaments looking over their shoulders too closely. For understandable reasons to do with the unique characteristics of the defence world, it is the area where the professionals – the civil servants and military personnel who spend their lives dealing with it – are the most resistant to the intrusion of "outsiders". This is understandable because defence is ultimately dealing with matters of life and death. Yet at the same time, defence also has to be accountable to the democratically elected leadership of the day, including parliament. So a balance has to be struck that allows the professionals to do their jobs unimpeded but also keeps the political side adequately informed. Striking this balance and deciding what level of detail should be made available and when is never easy. However, it was much more difficult during the Cold War when so much of the defence business was classified and the constraints of secrecy were an enormous obstacle to transparency. Parliamentary interest and support in defence, therefore, was welcomed as long as this involvement did not become too intrusive. Direct interference, particularly in operational matters, was strongly resisted.

If there was reluctance at the national level to allow parliamentarians to be too closely involved in defence it was not surprising to see the same tendency reflected in relations between NATO and the Assembly. Again, the exigencies of the Cold War when much of NATO's business was considered highly confidential exacerbated this tendency. Even if national attitudes towards what was confidential varied, NATO policy on what could be released or shared worked at the level of the most cautious and conservative – in other words, if in doubt, classify. In any case, Assembly co-operation was for the most part with the International Staff who ran the NATO machinery. Preoccupied with their daily business, they were far removed from any sense of parliamentary accountability. There was no reason for them to feel any direct responsibility for the Assembly – an unofficial body – or any need to co-operate with it.

During the Cold War, therefore, serious obstacles of status, function and attitude inhibited relations between the Assembly and NATO. Serious efforts were made by the Assembly to overcome these obstacles, and with some success, but not enough to satisfy the majority of Assembly members that they were being taken seriously.

However, after 1989 these traditional obstacles had to be seen in the entirely new light of the changed security environment and the Assembly's potential role within it. With the ending of the Cold War, the Assembly entered a new phase with a new role and a new-found sense of purpose. The leadership of the Assembly was quick to see the utility of the Assembly as a framework to integrate the new democracies, to provide them with a sense of reassurance and a degree of practical assistance. Most of these countries immediately announced their intention to join NATO, which, however, was clearly not for the immediate future. Involvement with the Assembly, however, was for them an easier but significant first step towards membership of the Alliance.

It was very rapidly apparent that for these aspirants the development of democratic societies based on the rule of law would be as important to their accession into NATO as the value of their armed forces. Who better to help these countries implement the necessary reforms to achieve these democratic standards than fellow parliamentarians? There is no need here to recount in detail how the Assembly responded in these early years of transition. This is told in the following chapters by the participants and the beneficiaries themselves from their different perspectives.

However, it is worth highlighting several general points that emerge from these chapters. First, the Assembly's involvement and assistance was of enormous political significance to the new democracies in the early phase of transition because of the reassuring message it provided. Second, the Rose-Roth programme was of particular relevance because it provided a focussed approach that was easily adapted to the different needs of the new parliaments. Third, participation afforded not just information but also familiarisation with parliamentary practices and the expertise needed for parliamentarians to be effective. As Ioan Pascu puts it in his contribution, for the would-be members, the Assembly became "a school for democracy". Fourth, in its activities the Assembly was not just supporting NATO but in some cases setting the pace. Fifth, being part of this transformation by helping the new democracies on their way to NATO membership was the source of immense satisfaction and pride for Assembly members, as can be seen from their contributions. Finally, apart from assisting the individual aspirants themselves, the Assembly played a constructive role in the ratification debates. Assembly reports and activities helped prepare members for the votes in their national parliaments.

An area that merits specific mention is the Assembly's assistance in helping countries put in place the mechanisms and practices necessary to ensure the democratic control of armed forces.

NATO made clear very early on that this was one of the conditions the Alliance would be looking for in assessing the readiness of aspirants to become members. It was equally evident during the transitional period that armed forces were one of the residual elements of

the old regime that had to undergo fundamental change. Most countries inherited oversized military establishments accustomed to single party control, a privileged position in terms of resources and status and a top-heavy and frequently recalcitrant officer corps. For political and economic reasons, the military had to be subordinated to the evolving democratic processes as a matter of priority. Other aspirants had to build their armed forces from scratch or from the remnants of the Soviet system. However, all of the new democracies had to cope with the most burdensome communist legacy of all – mentality and attitude – and the related difficulties of inculcating a sense of initiative and responsibility.

For the parliamentary side, there was also the problem of inadequate structures, a dearth of resources and insufficient expertise in developing the competencies necessary to be able to hold the executive to account. The Assembly devoted much time and effort to organizing activities designed to demonstrate what sorts of mechanisms and procedures were needed for parliamentarians and their staff to exercise effective parliamentary oversight. Much has been achieved and in many partner and new member countries mechanisms and practices have been put in place which compare well with those in traditional Alliance countries. The Assembly will continue in the same vein to help those countries next in line for NATO membership, "the Adriatic Three" and those such as Ukraine and Georgia for whom membership remains a strategic goal.

The Assembly's contribution to NATO's own policy of partnership and co-operation by providing an essential legislative dimension is now well established and acknowledged. The all-important area of NATO-Russia relations has been reinforced by a parallel co-operation between the Russian Federal Parliament and the Assembly. However, as Rafael Estrella points out in his contribution, while personal relations between Russian and Assembly parliamentarians are good, there is still a long way to go before mutual understanding and confidence is achieved. Similarly, the development of close ties with the Ukrainian Rada and an intensive programme of co-operation in the field of security sector reform has reinforced the work of the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council. It was the closeness of these ties that determined Assembly participation in the monitoring of the elections in late 2004.

The continuing enlargement of NATO's programme of partnership and co-operation carries with it the requirement for parallel Assembly action. Enlargement has brought the Alliance's borders closer to regions of instability and the sources of many pressing contemporary threats to our common security. In his foreword, the President of the NATO PA, Pierre Lellouche, speaks forcefully and eloquently about these new threats and the challenge they represent to the transatlantic community and the Assembly. These aspects need no further reiteration here – they are all too well known and are discussed at length elsewhere in this volume – except to underline Pierre's argument that they give added relevance to the Assembly's new role and agenda.

The Assembly is indeed focussing its attention on these regions of concern: the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the so-called "broader Middle East". In each of these regions the quasi-formal nature of the Assembly – "NATO but not NATO" – can make a unique contribution, particularly in areas of political sensitivity. Assembly activities and meetings can provide a neutral forum in which parties to particular regional disputes can meet together in an informal setting and where discussions can be free, frank and off the record – the status of Kosovo, relations between Serbia and Montenegro, the situation between Armenia and Azerbaijan and, through the Assembly's Mediterranean Dialogue, the Arab-Israeli conflict have all been the subject of such meetings in recent years[4]. There are no illusions that such discussions have any immediate impact but there is hope that they contribute to building the trust and confidence among the parties that is essential if long-term solutions are to be found. In the same spirit, the Assembly has invited representatives from the Kosovo Assembly and the Palestinian Legislative Council to participate in certain of its activities in order to give them and their perspectives international exposure.

Kosovo poster commemorating NATO's role – Assembly activities have supported and reinforced NATO's policies in Kosovo and other regions of concern.

As Jean-Michel Boucheron and Giovanni Lorenzo Forcieri point out in their contributions, the same flexibility has allowed the Assembly's Mediterranean Dialogue to develop in a way that complements NATO's own dialogue. Unlike NATO, the Assembly's Mediterranean Dialogue is multilateral and has a comprehensive agenda that allows discussion of issues beyond NATO's own security-related agenda such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Islam and democracy, and the role of the media in society. The Assembly's Mediterranean dialogue offers a flexible, informal forum in which representatives of civil society, such as NGOs, the media and women's groups, are invited to participate with legislators from Assembly and Mediterranean dialogue countries. In their activities with countries from the broader Middle East – contacts have recently been made with Gulf States – Assembly members can often go further than their diplomat and civil servant counterparts in establishing links with civil society, opening windows and delivering messages. As the "soft" and in some regions less politically sensitive side of the "NATO community", they can do much to lay the groundwork for co-operation between these countries and the Alliance. They can also do much to dispel the popular misperception that is all-too pervasive in the region of NATO as a US-dominated military organization run by men in uniform.

One significant divergence from NATO policy lies in relations with Central Asia, where the absence of democratic institutions coupled with poor human rights records has

4. For an account of two such seminars, see the article by Andrea Cellino in Chapter 5.

NATO PA members "on the ground" visiting NATO forces in Afghanistan with SACEUR, General Jones. NATO operations in places like Afghanistan and Kosovo have meant additional responsibilities for legislators and make such fact-finding missions by Assembly members even more important.

meant that, with the exception of Kazakhstan, Central Asian states do not participate in the Assembly. In his article, Vahit Erdem points to the dilemma the Assembly faces in balancing strategic relevance with standards of democracy and measuring the benefits of inclusion against those of exclusion.

A similar divergence with NATO is the suspension of Belarus from participation in the Assembly.

In the new environment it is clear that the requirement for parliamentary and public support is as strong as ever. In fact, as Pierre Lellouche argues in his foreword, in view of the range and scale of the new threats and NATO's response to them, the role of parliaments has achieved a new salience. For example, the deployment of forces to places such as Kosovo and Afghanistan has brought the need to think differently about the use of force and the employment of armed forces. This in turn means additional responsibilities for legislators. This has made the provision of timely and accurate Assembly reports based on fact-finding visits to the field even more important.

The Assembly's committees, as can be seen from the respective contributions, will continue to perform their essential functions of ensuring that the topical issues of the day are on their agendas. They will continue to keep "ahead of the curve", exploiting the Assembly's flexibility to push into areas either ahead of the Alliance, as in the recent visit to China by the Economics and Security Committee, or not on NATO's immediate agenda, such as the focus on climate change by the Science and Technology Committee[5].

As a result of the changes of the last decade and the Assembly's response, relations with NATO have improved significantly both at the official and the working level. There appears to be a general recognition at NATO of the benefits of co-operation with the Assembly as opposed

5. See the articles by Jos Van Gennip (Chapter 14), Pierre Claude Nolin (Chapter 10) and Jan Tore Sanner (Chapter 11).

to the disadvantages. This improvement is, in part, due to the changed nature of the organization as the Alliance has taken in new members and developed new forms of co-operation. It is also due to the personal inclinations of recent Secretaries general, including the present incumbent, who have had substantial parliamentary experience in their national parliaments.

However, it is also due to the convergence of many of the Assembly's activities and those of NATO. Much of what the Assembly is doing with partner parliaments has a direct relationship with NATO's own work. Very simply, in providing political and practical assistance to partners, particularly in the area of parliamentary oversight of defence, the Assembly is not just supporting NATO's own efforts, but has become an integral part of Alliance outreach policy.

Practical co-operation between the Assembly and NATO at the working level has increased greatly, and co-operation with the International Staff now exists in many forms and at many levels. Assembly members and staff now participate in a wide range of NATO meetings which would have been unheard of during the Cold War. For instance, the assistance being given to countries on security sector reform is a natural area for joint projects between the two bodies. A recent joint initiative in the context of NATO's Defence Institutions Building Programme produced a programme for Georgia that brought together the key constituencies in the development and implementation of Georgia's defence policy – the civil servants, the military and the parliamentarians – in order to encourage co-operation between them.

At the official level, acknowledgement of the Assembly's contribution has produced several positive developments: the increased availability of the NATO Secretary General and his senior staff for Assembly functions; more thorough and detailed replies to the Assembly's resolutions; a more structured exchange of views with the North Atlantic Council, including the attendance of the entire NAC at the Venice session in 2004, annual presentations by the Presidents of the Assembly to the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC ambassadors), and the participation of the President of the Assembly at NATO Enlargement Summits in Madrid, Washington, Prague and Istanbul.

Although in content these latter appearances were largely symbolic, they were, nevertheless, politically significant because they demonstrated the maturing of relations between the Assembly and NATO and an appreciation of the former by the latter.

Participation of NATO PA Presidents at NATO Enlargement Summits

This initiative began when Senator Bill Roth was invited to address the Madrid Summit in his capacity as NATO PA President, but to speak from his seat as part of the US delegation. During preparations for the Washington Summit a proposal was made to repeat the invitation. Some nations, however, registered the traditional reticence to recognition of the Assembly in this way. Surprised to hear of these objections, a senior State Department official described the proposal as a "no-brainer" – what was there to lose? Common sense prevailed and it was agreed that the NATO PA President, then Javier Ruperez, could again speak to the Summit for five minutes in the non-restricted session before lunch. The same invitation was extended to Doug Bereuter for the Prague and Istanbul Enlargement Summits, on these occasions accompanied by the Assembly's Secretary General.

There will, of course, still be those at NATO and elsewhere who will continue to remain unaware of the work of the Assembly and the breadth of its activities – but that is in the nature of things and of the rotation of posts in an international organization. The same will be true of the Assembly's public profile – or lack of it. There will always be work to be done to improve public awareness of the Assembly. However, as far as media attention goes, the Assembly lives in the shadow of the senior partner, NATO, where the decisions are made. Parliamentary debates, it has to be said, do not normally attract press attention. In his article, Javier Ruperez highlights the dilemma involved in making press attention a priority. He notes that the Assembly does not normally make headlines but comments that it would have done so had it voted against the Kosovo operation.

The Aims of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly[6]

The aims of the NATO PA are directly related to the role of members of parliament in the field of defence and security, taking due account of the Assembly's interparliamentary character.

The aims of the NATO PA can be defined as including the following:

- to foster dialogue among parliamentarians on major security issues;
- to facilitate parliamentary awareness and understanding of key security issues and Alliance policies;
- to provide NATO and its member governments with an indication of collective parliamentary opinion;
- to provide greater transparency of NATO policies, and thereby a degree of collective accountability;
- to strengthen the transatlantic relationship.

These have been longstanding goals of the Assembly. Since 1989, the following have been added:

- to assist in the development of parliamentary democracy throughout the Euro-Atlantic area by integrating parliamentarians from non-member nations into the Assembly's work;
- to assist directly those parliaments actively seeking Alliance membership;
- to increase co-operation with countries who seek co-operation rather than membership, including those of the Caucasus, Central Asia and southern Mediterranean regions;
- to assist in the development of parliamentary mechanisms, practices and 'know how' essential for the effective democratic control of armed forces.

6. In the Secretary General's Report on Priorities and Activities as endorsed by the Standing Committee in Venice in November 2004.

However, while the Assembly's reputation and profile with NATO and with the public in general is important, it is not essential to its central purpose. Irrespective of profile, the Assembly stands on its own merits. Despite the enormous changes that have taken place since its creation, the justification for the Assembly remains very much what it was at the beginning, simply the Alliance forum for transatlantic legislative dialogue, exchange and familiarisation.

In the evolution of its role in the last decade, the Assembly has achieved an appropriate balance between identification with, but independence from, NATO. Its identity is clearly established[7], there is consensus among members over its aims (see box), its work is now generally acknowledged and has become part of the fabric of the Alliance. Relations with NATO can always be improved but the 'objective' obstacles discussed earlier will always inhibit closer involvement in decision-making. In the meantime, there is much to be done and the Assembly's agenda is full for the foreseeable future.

The contributions in this book illustrate the main facets of Assembly activity, the contribution it has made and is making in many areas, and the respect it has now achieved. However, they also reflect another dimension which exists beyond these elements – the human factor and the personal relationships and friendships created. This dimension is incalculable and yet is at the heart of the Assembly's existence and its success. In their contributions, Doug Bereuter and John Tanner speak simply and directly to this dimension and the same sentiment is echoed in many other contributors. These contributions explain the underlying value of the Assembly and why it will continue to provide the indispensable democratic foundation of the North Atlantic Alliance.

* * *

7. The name was changed from the North Atlantic Assembly to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in order to provide a more precise definition of the Assembly for the public.

CHAPTER 2 The Assembly from 1955 to 1989

David Hobbs
Deputy Secretary General of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly's founding fathers would view today's Assembly with both pride and surprise. Pride, because from its uncertain beginnings it has become firmly established and has developed a clear and well-recognized role within the framework of Euro-Atlantic institutions; and surprise because the full development of that role was brought about by enormous changes in the international landscape that were unforeseeable and even unthinkable fifty years ago.

Today's Assembly is built upon the vision, commitment, and dedication to principles of the parliamentarians who struggled against governmental indifference in order to found the organization and set in place the structures which have served it so well.

Origins

The formal origin of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly was on 18 July 1955 when the first "Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Countries" began at NATO headquarters at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris. However, this meeting did not happen spontaneously: it was preceded by years of "behind the scenes" lobbying and effort by parliamentarians who believed that NATO should have a parliamentary dimension.[1]

The Washington Treaty that brought NATO into being on 4 April 1949 included no provisions for any form of parliamentary dimension. In today's vocabulary, this was seen by some as a "democratic deficit", and calls for the creation of a NATO parliamentary assembly appeared shortly after the Alliance's creation.

As early as 1951, members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) suggested that that Assembly should be developed into an Atlantic consultative assembly. Indeed, that year a delegation from the US Congress participated in a meeting in

1. A detailed account of the early contributions of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's "founding fathers" appears in "The Parliamentarians' Role in the Alliance: The North Atlantic Assembly 1955-1980". Brussels, 1981.

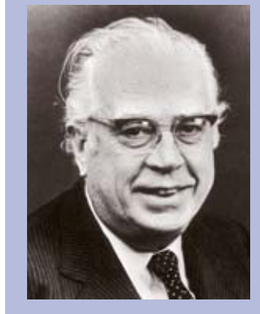
The participants in the first Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Nations, 18 July 1955.

Strasbourg with representatives from PACE. Shortly after that meeting, a participant from the US Senate described the meeting as a step towards creating "a channel for direct co-operation among representatives elected to express the will of the Atlantic peoples."

The following year, an informal group of parliamentarians from the United States and Canada unanimously issued a statement urging NATO governments to consider creating a North Atlantic Assembly, composed of parliamentary representatives whose object would be the implementation of Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In 1953, the notion of a NATO parliamentary assembly gained formal support from the Norwegian government. In June that year, the Norwegian *Storting* passed a motion requesting the government to take steps towards the creation of a consultative assembly within NATO. The Norwegian government then instructed its delegation at NATO to make a formal proposal to create such an assembly.

Backing for this proposal came from the second International Study Conference on the Atlantic Community which took place in Copenhagen. This was attended by parliamentarians, former civil servants and diplomats from the then 14 NATO member nations, with observers from NATO headquarters and several foreign ministries. Delegates approved a resolution calling for an advisory conference of NATO parliamentarians to meet periodically.



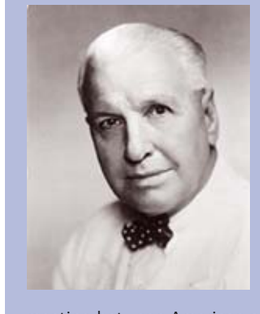
Sir Geoffrey de Freitas (United Kingdom)

Sir Geoffrey de Freitas (United Kingdom) was an early advocate of a NATO Parliamentary Assembly. As early as 1951, he called for the Assembly of the Council of Europe to be transformed into an Atlantic Assembly which, he believed, should have a formal consultative role within NATO.

Sir Geoffrey was President of the North Atlantic Assembly from 1977 to 1978.

The Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council prepared a report on how to react to the Norwegian proposal and the Copenhagen Resolution which was presented to the meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers in December 1953. This urged NATO governments to encourage the formation of national parliamentary groups interested in NATO matters. In putting the proposal from the NATO permanent representatives to the Foreign Ministers, Lord Ismay, the Secretary General of NATO, said, "These groups will then be able to make their own contacts with each other and will perhaps wish to hold a joint meeting – for instance in Paris – and discuss matters of common interest. The international staff of NATO would, of course, provide all possible information and assistance."

In other words, NATO did not endorse the notion of a parliamentary assembly, but instead favoured the creation of national parliamentary associations which could foster their own contacts among themselves, and which would be welcome to arrange *ad hoc* visits to NATO.



Senator Guy Gillette (United States)

In 1951, Senator Guy Gillette participated in a meeting between members of the United Congress and members of the Council of Europe. In articles and speeches, he called for the creation of a "channel for direct co-operation among representatives elected to express the will of the Atlantic peoples". In 1952, he was a participant in the meeting between American and Canadian legislators which unanimously called for the creation of a NATO parliamentary assembly.

The Canadian parliament was the first to set up such a national parliamentary group. On 14 May 1954, the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association was founded under the Presidency of the Speaker of the Canadian Senate, Senator Wishart McL. Robertson. This Association – open to all Senators and Members of the House of Commons – began to develop contacts with other similar groups as they were created in other NATO nations.

The idea of a NATO parliamentary assembly gained support from the "Declaration of

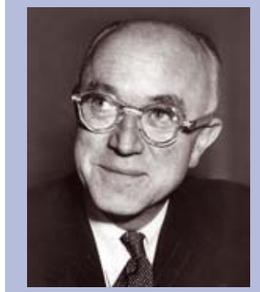
Article 2 of the NATO Treaty

"The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

This Article – championed by Canada and thus often referred to as "the Canadian article" – commits Alliance members to promote non-military co-operation.

Atlantic Unity", a private initiative organized by four leading American businessmen and former diplomats, William Clayton, William Draper, Lithgow Osborne, and Philip Reed. Together with representatives from the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, they drew up the Declaration's five recommendations which were signed by 244 prominent citizens from nine NATO countries. One of the recommendations was "the creation of an advisory Atlantic Assembly representative of the legislatures of the member nations, which would meet periodically to discuss matters of common concern."

The Declaration was presented to the North Atlantic Council in December 1954, and was welcomed by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower and other Alliance leaders. Commenting upon the proposal to create an Atlantic Assembly, US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles acknowledged the potential value of such a body, particularly as a means of fostering better public understanding of the common problems of the Atlantic nations and of focussing the outstanding skills and talents of experienced parliamentarians upon these problems. "But", he said, "the fundamental decision to undertake such a relationship rests with the various legislators themselves."



Mr Finn Moe (Norway)

Chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, who in 1953 at the Copenhagen International Study Conference on the Atlantic Community Conference drafted the resolution which called for the creation of an advisory conference of NATO parliamentarians. Mr Moe was one of the co-organizers of the first Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Countries.

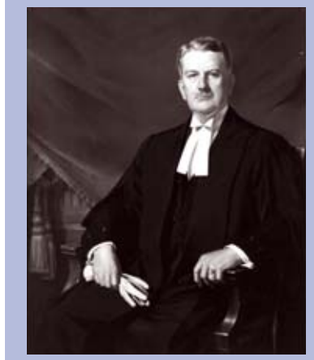
In fact, such an initiative was already in progress. In November 1954, the President of the Norwegian Parliament had written to the parliaments of those nations judged to have the most interest in the idea of a parliamentary assembly. Naturally, this list included the Canadian parliament, but the proposed date in the spring of 1955 was not convenient due to the pressure of domestic parliamentary business. Canada, however, assumed joint responsibility with Norway for arranging a meeting of parliamentarians from NATO nations at NATO headquarters.

In January 1955, the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association passed a resolution calling for a meeting of Alliance parliamentarians in Paris on 18 July 1955 to discuss the creation of a North Atlantic Consultative Assembly. This Resolution was communicated to all Alliance parliaments.

Interest in the creation of such an Assembly was growing, both in parliaments and in the media, but most Alliance governments were extremely wary. The United Kingdom's Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, said in March 1955, "It is not our policy to establish a parliamentary assembly as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization machinery. We are not alone in this. Our view is shared by a number of other NATO

Governments. Her Majesty's Government, however, welcome parliamentary interest in and support for NATO through unofficial meetings of Members of Parliament from NATO countries".

Such governmental views were widespread: governments were happy for parliamentarians to meet and discuss NATO as a means of building broader national support for decisions taken by NATO governments, but they were firmly opposed to proposals which might have led to parliamentary "interference" in the NATO decision-making process.



Senator Wishart McL. Robertson (Canada), the Assembly's first President

Senator Robertson was Speaker of the Canadian Senate, and as Chairman of the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association was one of the co-organizers of the first Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Countries.

These reservations had a strong influence on reactions to the Canadian Resolution calling for a North Atlantic Consultative Assembly. In May 1955, Senator Robertson told the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association that "the Association has received a great deal of correspondence...all of which is in favour of the idea of regular meetings of NATO parliamentarians but many feel that the idea of the Consultative Assembly is not practical." The Association subsequently drew up another Resolution which instead of calling for the creation of a Consultative Assembly, proposed that all NATO nations formed national NATO Parliamentary Associations which would meet annually and co-ordinate their activities through a NATO Inter-Parliamentary Association through a Paris-based headquarters and secretariat. This Resolution was to be one of the key items on the agenda of the forthcoming NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.

The practical organization of the conference was in the hands of Lord Ismay's private office, which was in close contact with representatives of the NATO delegations of Canada, Norway, and France which, as the host nation, was also closely involved in conference preparations. Senator Robertson and Finn Moe of the Norwegian parliament were responsible for operational decisions.

However, NATO's commitment to the conference was confined largely to providing facilities and speakers, and just two months before the conference date there was in effect no administrative organization to prepare the conference or deal with the practical issues that would inevitably arise during the conference. Consequently, Senator Robertson and Mr Moe approved the temporary appointment of a conference organizer proposed by the British delegation to the conference.

The First Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Nations

On 17 July 1955, the day before the full conference began, a Steering Committee consisting of one representative from each delegation met at the Palais de Chaillot to complete the agenda and establish the rules of procedure[2]. The following day, 158 parliamentarians from fourteen NATO nations[3] were present for the opening of the first "Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO Nations".

During the first two days of the conference, participants received briefings on NATO at the Palais de Chaillot and at SHAPE from leading NATO officials and senior Allied commanders. The following three days were taken up with discussion on Alliance issues and the prospects for a permanent parliamentarians' conference or assembly.

Several delegations favoured the creation of an assembly with consultative status being attached to NATO, but the majority felt that the opposition of some member governments rendered this proposal impractical. There was also a suggestion that the NATO Council should invite parliamentarians to an annual conference, but this was forcefully rejected because the delegates felt that the participation in their meetings should be independent of governmental decisions.

The proposal that gained unanimous approval was that delegations at future conferences should be convened in the same way as the first one. This meant that delegations would be selected by the President or Speaker of each parliament to ensure accurate representation of the political composition of the parliament. It was felt important to avoid the possibility that individual parliamentary associations would renominate the same pro-NATO delegates year after year.

The conference also agreed to establish a "Continuing Committee"[4] consisting of the elected officers of the Assembly and one representative from each delegation to organize the next meeting. In addition, it decided to appoint a small, part-time secretariat.[5]

The Early Years: Basic Principles

The first conference of NATO parliamentarians was deemed to be a great success, but inevitably many questions were left unanswered. It was unclear what form of relationship this new conference would have with NATO governments and with NATO itself. Some parliamentarians believed that these questions were not crucial: they felt that the role of the conference in enabling legislators from both sides of the Atlantic to meet and discuss common concerns was a sufficient justification for its existence. It also seemed to have catalysed an on-going debate about the role of the Alliance, particularly in the field of non-military co-operation.

Certainly, the widespread discussion in the mid-1950s about NATO's non-military dimension intensified following the first NATO parliamentarians' conference, and NATO

2. The Committee also elected Senator Wishart McL. Robertson (Canada) as President of the Conference, and Finn Moe (Norway), Frans van Cauwelaert (Belgium) and Pierre-Olivier Lapie (France) as Vice-Presidents. The Conference later adopted these nominations during the first working session on 20 July.

3. The Italian delegation did not arrive until the last day of the conference due to the domestic political situation in Italy. The United States Senate was not able to send representatives due to the pressure of legislative business in the Senate.

4. The "Continuing Committee" was renamed the "Standing Committee" at the second Conference of NATO Parliamentarians in 1956.

5. This secretariat was located in London until 1960 when it was moved to Paris.

itself recognized the need to address this. NATO Foreign Ministers, meeting in May 1956, asked the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Italy and Norway[6] to prepare a report on how "to extend co-operation in non-military fields and to strengthen unity within the Atlantic Community"[7]. As its first corporate activity, the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference was asked by the "Committee of Three" for its views on ways in which co-operation in non-military fields could be developed within the Atlantic Community, and *The Report of the Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation* in NATO (often referred to as the Report of the "Three Wise Men") was completed and approved by the North Atlantic Council in December 1956.

It noted that after collective defence, NATO's long-term second goal was the development of an Atlantic Community whose roots are "even deeper than the necessity for common defence". The Alliance was therefore concerned with enabling all countries to develop in freedom, and that "no state, however powerful, can guarantee its security and its welfare by national action alone". Consultation in NATO should be an integral part of the making of national policy. "Without this the very existence of the North Atlantic Community may be in jeopardy... There cannot be unity in defence and disunity in foreign policy."

The Report proposed that, as well as serving as a vehicle for political co-operation, the Alliance should co-operate in fields such as economics, science and technology, and culture. It also welcomed the establishment of the conference of NATO parliamentarians, and recognized this was a means of increasing public support for NATO and developing a sense of solidarity among NATO members. Consequently, the Report recommended that NATO should maintain a close relationship with NATO parliamentarians and continue to support the Conference of NATO Parliamentarians.

The members of the NATO Parliamentarians Conference certainly shared the philosophy underlying the Wise Men's Report. The parliamentarians were committed to the sentiments

6. The three Foreign Ministers were Lester Pearson (Canada), Dr Gaetano Martino (Italy) and Halvard Lange (Norway).

7. North Atlantic Council Communiqué, Paris, 4-5 May 1956.

Extract from the Text of the Report of the Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation in NATO
"IV. Parliamentary Associations and the Parliamentary Conference

58. Among the best supporters of NATO and its purposes are those Members of Parliament who have had a chance at first hand to see some of its activities and to learn of its problems, and to exchange views with their colleagues from other parliaments. In particular, the formation of national Parliamentary Associations and the activities of the Conference of Members of Parliament from NATO countries have contributed to the development of public support for NATO and solidarity among its members.

59. In order to maintain a close relationship of Parliamentarians with NATO, the following arrangements are recommended:

a. that the Secretary General continue to place the facilities of NATO Headquarters at the disposal of Parliamentary Conferences and give all possible help with arrangements for their meetings;
b. that invited representatives of member governments and the Secretary General and other senior NATO civil and military officers attend certain of these meetings. In this way the Parliamentarians would be informed on the state of the Alliance and the problems before it, and the value of their discussions would be increased."

enshrined in Article 2 of the Washington Treaty, and they felt that they should address not only the military dimensions and concerns of the Alliance, but also the full spectrum of issues of importance to their community of nations based on shared values and common principles. They therefore set about developing an institutional structure that reflected the full breadth of their interests.

The first Conference had taken place in an entirely plenary format, but four committees – Economic, Political, Military, and Cultural – were established for the second conference in 1956. The committees were restructured into three for the 1957 Conference: Military, Political and Scientific and Technical, and General Affairs (which included the Cultural and Economic Committees of the previous year).

For the 1958 Conference, a five-committee structure was adopted: Economic, Cultural Affairs and Information, Military, Political, and Scientific and Technical. This basic structure proved to be extremely enduring: although committee titles and terms of reference have evolved, that basic committee structure has remained in place to this day as the foundation of the Assembly's work.

This structure enabled the Assembly to address defence and political issues central to NATO while at the same time enabling it to address other topics which fell outside NATO's traditional scope. In only the first few years, the list of non-defence subjects included matters as diverse as human rights, education, monetary policy, agricultural and fisheries policy, air and sea pollution, and development aid. Debates took place from time to time about whether the Assembly should maintain this broad approach or confine itself to "core" NATO matters, with the invariable result that the Assembly stuck to its fundamental belief that it should address whatever the legislators within the Atlantic community of nations felt was important to that community, and not only what Alliance governments dealt with in the more narrow context of NATO.

The Quest for Recognition

In addition to the Assembly's substantive work, its members remained deeply embroiled in discussions about the Assembly's relationship with NATO. There was a strong sense that the Assembly should have some form of formal recognition as a consultative body for NATO. The Assembly conducted many studies of how this could be achieved. There were many ideas regarding what form recognition would take, and what sort of – limited – powers might be given to the Assembly. There was even a study of the feasibility of adapting the Assembly to become a "Consultative Atlantic Assembly" for both NATO and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

The Assembly's members devoted enormous amounts of time and energy to the quest for formal recognition, and the subject was raised on innumerable occasions with NATO's successive Secretaries General, as well as with Alliance governments.[8] The quest did gain some high-profile supporters such as then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson, but the support was insufficient to overcome the general resistance to "rocking the boat", and the clear opposition to making institutional changes that would require amending the North Atlantic Treaty.

8. A comprehensive account of the Assembly's efforts appears in the chapter entitled "Efforts at Institutionalization" in The Parliamentarians' Role in the Alliance. The North Atlantic Assembly 1955-1980, Brussels, 1981.

In December 1967, however, the NATO Foreign Ministers noted that "the Council discussed proposals presented by the North Atlantic Assembly parliamentarians at their recent meeting for closer co-operation between themselves and the Council. The Secretary General was authorised to study ways and means for this purpose and to submit suggestions to the Council".[9] Negotiations between NATO's Secretary General, Mr Manlio Brosio, and the Assembly Secretary General, Philippe Deshormes, took place, and in March 1968 formal procedures were established for a practical working relationship between the Assembly and NATO. It was agreed that the Secretary General of NATO should make regular statements on the Alliance to the Assembly, that the NATO Secretariat would give active support to the Assembly's committees in their work, that relations between the Assembly and NATO would be channelled through NATO's Political Directorate, and that the North Atlantic Council would make comments via the Secretary General of NATO on the resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

The North Atlantic Assembly

In 1966, the 12th Conference unanimously agreed to adopt the name the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA). The French delegation had suggested that dropping the reference to "NATO" in the organization's title might be a "decisive factor in maintaining French participation in the Conference".

Following France's withdrawal from NATO's military structure in 1966, NATO moved its headquarters from Paris to Brussels. The Assembly headquarters moved to Brussels in 1968.

9. "The Parliamentarians' Role in the Alliance: The North Atlantic Assembly 1955-1980". Brussels, 1981. pp. 26-27.

In the 1980s, the practice was also established whereby the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council and the Assembly's Standing Committee hold an annual meeting at NATO headquarters.

In effect, up to the end of the Cold War, there was support for ensuring that members of the Assembly were informed of NATO policies and there was recognition of the Assembly's value in maintaining public support for the Alliance. However, there was solid resistance to giving the Assembly any formal role in shaping or making Alliance policy, beyond that which its members enjoyed through their own national legislatures.

Influence and Initiatives

Although a formal role within NATO's policy and decision-making framework would have provided the Assembly with an obvious rationale, such a role was not needed to justify the Assembly's foundation or continuing existence. The Assembly was founded to provide a link between the NATO authorities and member parliaments; to help promote a sense of Atlantic solidarity among legislators; and to further the aims and values of the

Atlantic Alliance. It fulfilled these goals by its very nature, but these represented only a part of its value.

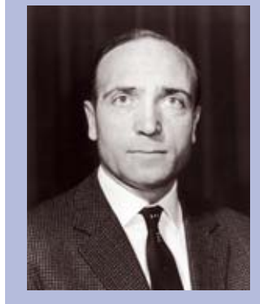
The Assembly's members came from all Alliance nations, and reflected the political composition of their parliaments so that the Assembly's ideas and views were not only useful but merited close attention because they were the product of a representative cross-section of political opinion with the Alliance. Furthermore, they were produced by members of parliament – often very senior ones – who were influential in their own right as members of their own national legislatures.

In addition, the Assembly became an excellent source of information for its members. Through the Assembly's various reports, briefings, and meetings, its members were kept abreast of plans, ideas and developments in many fields. The Assembly was also an outstanding vehicle for parliamentarians to establish an international network of contacts.

As well as providing these invaluable but intangible assets, the Assembly produced concrete accomplishments. Among the earliest was the Assembly's decisive support for the creation of NATO's Science Committee, as described in chapter 14.[10] The Assembly was also instrumental in the Atlantic Congress of 1959. This Congress was held to mark the 10th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. As well as being a celebration of the anniversary, the Congress was the venue for discussions on ways to develop Alliance co-operation through the implementation of Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This Congress was organized by the Assembly's secretariat and brought together 650 delegates for five days of meetings in London.

10. The Science and Technology Committee by Lothar Ibrügger.

Three years later, in 1962, the Assembly played a key role in bringing about the Atlantic Convention of NATO Nations which took place in Paris in 1962 with the intention of drafting a charter to promote Atlantic unity. Although this high-profile event produced many proposals such as a Permanent High Council to co-ordinate political, military, economic and cultural policies, and an Atlantic High Court of Justice in its "Declaration of Paris", its goals were too idealistic to have any enduring impact.



Philippe Deshormes

Philippe Deshormes was the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Assembly from 1968 to 1986. As a high-ranking Belgian civil servant, an accomplished administrator, and a passionate believer in the transatlantic Alliance and the principles it represents, he was particularly well qualified to establish the Assembly's headquarters in Brussels. He negotiated the International Secretariat's formal status within Belgium and laid down a firm framework for the Assembly's relationship with NATO headquarters. During his tenure as Secretary General, the scale and scope of the Assembly's activities grew considerably, and he enlarged and organized the International Secretariat in order to support that.

The Assembly achieved a more long-lived success in the creation of the Atlantic Institute, a think tank created to serve the Atlantic community. The Assembly not only supported the concept of the Institute, but also helped

to define its terms of reference and identify sources of funding. The Atlantic Institute was founded in 1960 and was, until its closure almost thirty years later, one of the leading centres for analysis of Atlantic-related issues.

In fact, the Assembly itself also established a reputation as a "think tank". Its reports were well-researched and informative, and often far less "dry" than those produced by governments or NATO. This reflected the fact that the Assembly's members represented a wide spectrum of political opinion and did not have to reflect the NATO consensus or the official views of its governments. Nevertheless, its reports were seen as being both authoritative and influential, "semi-official" documents, often benefiting from information provided to Assembly members during high-level briefings. The reports thus became a valuable resource not only for the Assembly's members, but also for academics, policy specialists, and the media.

Without fail, each year the reports addressed the key political and military challenges facing the Alliance, as well a host of other issues that Assembly members deemed to be of importance to the Atlantic community of nations.

The Evolution of Activities

Until the late 1960s, the reports were prepared by a Committee General Rapporteur or by a Special Rapporteur appointed by a committee to address a particular topic. Some subjects were also handled by Working Groups, which prepared their reports through correspondence rather than meetings. The committees – including the Standing Committee – met occasionally outside the context of the annual conference in meetings hosted by member nations. In the late 1960s, however, the Assembly started to set up sub-committees to focus on topics deemed to be of key importance, and which could obtain information by making fact-finding visits. In the mid 1970s, the number of sub-committees was limited to eight, and committee meetings outside the context of the annual conference became the exception. The Standing Committee also stopped meeting on an *ad hoc* basis and established the practice of holding one meeting per year outside the annual conference.

Starting in 1957, each year the Assembly's Military Committee organized a "Military Visit" in conjunction with NATO. This entailed visiting military installations for briefings and demonstrations to enable parliamentarians to see at first hand the capabilities and equipment available to the Atlantic Alliance. In the 1980s, this evolved into the "Annual Tour" and although the emphasis was still heavily on military facilities, it was increasingly hosted by member nations, and participation was no longer linked specifically to membership of the Military Committee.

In 1979, the Assembly decided to begin holding two plenary sessions each year, and the practice began in 1980 with the first spring session taking place in Luxembourg.

With the introduction of a spring session, the pattern of Assembly activities was set to remain largely unchanged until the end of the Cold War. The only significant change was the addition in the early 1980s of joint committee meetings in Brussels each February. These meetings provided an excellent opportunity for Assembly members to meet senior NATO officials and eventually they were augmented by a meeting between the Standing Committee and the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council.

The Assembly's President, Sir Patrick Duffy (United Kingdom) welcoming General Vladimir Lobov, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact, to the Rome Session, October 1989.

Towards the End of the Cold War

Thus, the Assembly entered the early 1980s with a comprehensive pattern of activities and a very full agenda, which continued to reflect the Alliance's key concerns. These concerns were many: the Soviet Union had occupied Afghanistan at the end of 1979, and NATO was in process of implementing its Dual-Track decision to deploy American Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe unless the Soviet Union removed its SS-20 missiles. Then, on 23 March 1983, US President Ronald Reagan announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) – popularly known as "Star Wars" – to develop defences against ballistic missiles. Nuclear strategy, arms control, and East-West relations dominated the headlines as well as the Assembly's agenda.

However, the Assembly still maintained the breadth of its agenda. In view of the military and political dimensions of the Dual-Track decision, it created a Special Committee on Nuclear Weapons in Europe which reported to both the Political and Military Committees. This ensured coherence in the Assembly's consideration of this subject, and it also enabled those Committees to address other topics of central concern. In retrospect it is interesting to note that these included the threat of international terrorism, NATO's southern region, and out-of-area challenges to NATO.

East-West relations took on a new dimension in 1985 with accession to power of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The full consequences of his leadership were not to materialize for several years, but it rapidly became clear that the changes under President Gorbachev were more than cosmetic and that new opportunities were emerging for more constructive East-West relations.

The Assembly's members started to consider whether and how the Assembly itself should engage in direct dialogue with representatives from the nations of what was still then the Warsaw Pact. The nature of these discussions and their outcome feature extensively in this book. In sum, the Assembly decided at a very early stage that it should be as open as possible to contacts. It thus took up a new mission: to engage, encourage, and assist the emerging democratic forces in Central and Eastern Europe. In doing so, it has maintained the commitment to values and principles upon which the Atlantic Alliance was founded and which have guided the Assembly throughout its history.

* * *

CHAPTER 3 Pioneering Transition

Assembly President Charlie Rose (United States) with the leaders of the delegations of the three newly independent Baltic states taking their place as associate delegations, Madrid, 1991.

Bruce George
Member of the United Kingdom Delegation. Former Chairman of the Political Committee. Former President of the OSCE PA.

In this contribution I offer my perspective as Chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly's Political Committee of events inside the Committee and the Assembly in the period prior to the collapse of communism in most of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in those epochal years 1987-1991.

In September 1989 as Editor of Jane's NATO Handbook I had written that "... communism has passed its peak, and one of the major challenges that we [NATO and the PA] now face is how to deal with its likely, though not immediate demise." I further predicted that whilst countless analysts had foreseen its demise, the fulfilment of their prophecies "... never looked remotely possible. That is until now." No one could have foreseen how rapidly the communist regimes would implode or collapse. It began with Solidarity's victory in June 1989, followed by the historic breaching of the Berlin Wall in November, and ending in the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and then the Soviet Union itself. Suddenly our world was transformed.

The story has been told and re-told endlessly. President Havel said later "Time suddenly accelerated and what otherwise would have taken a year suddenly happened in an hour... the impossible and the dream became reality. The stoker's dream [his Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister] became the daily routine of the Minister of Foreign Affairs."

The NAA and particularly the Political Committee were not bystanders to these incredible events. I'm not remotely arguing that we were central to the process. But perhaps we deserve a little footnote in history for our anticipation of what was going to happen and also for our encouragement of improvement in East-West relations through our activities and reciprocal visits with countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact, particularly in the period after

they had extricated themselves. The Committee was highly innovative, as one might have expected from a body of people which contained as its officers the future Foreign Minister of Norway, Jan Petersen, the former and future Foreign Minister of Portugal, Jaime Gama, and a future President of the NAA, Loïc Bouvard, among a host of other distinguished parliamentarians.

We had been trailblazing during the years prior to these amazing events, having visited virtually all of the Central and Eastern European countries as well as the Soviet Union. After each visit we invited the parliamentarians we met, some a pretty unsavoury bunch, to attend the Assembly's annual sessions. We had seen the need for co-operation even before 1989 but our progressive activities caused some consternation within NATO and even within the top echelons of the Assembly itself. My Committee took the lead in developing dialogue and links principally through the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe. This resulted in visits to Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and East Germany. I made a personal visit on behalf of the Political Committee to Romania just 10 days after the revolution, introducing the Assembly to rather bemused senior public figures and inviting them to join our proceedings as observers.

The Assembly leadership made its first of very many visits to the Soviet Union in July 1989 on the back of the Political Committee's initiatives. However, it was not an altogether easy task to convince the Standing Committee to instantaneously adopt all of our initiatives. Proposals that Assembly members, Committee or Standing Committee should visit these countries were gradually accepted. However, the question of reciprocal invitations to what were initially 'legislators' from communist countries faced opposition.

The processes of co-operation really began when the Sub-Committee was set up at the annual session in Istanbul in November 1986, its mandate being enlarged to include the Soviet Union the following year. The Sub-Committee visited Hungary on the 29 February 1988 at the invitation of the national parliament. In an address to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the then President of the NAA, Ton Frinking, declared "Our visit to Hungary... is a historic step for the NAA. This visit is symbolic of the current climate of change in Europe and in East-West relations in general". A Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Hirlap* concurred as did most newspaper and television commentaries. The sentries in the Hungarian MOD were certainly taken aback by the NATO logo some of us were sporting on our attaché cases. For our part, we were truly amazed at what we saw, particularly the degree to which radical change in domestic politics and even defence and security policy seemed inevitable. I quickly wrote a chapter of a book on the changes that were taking place. However, I wrote that I did *not* foresee substantial changes in Hungarian defence and security policy nor in its membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Unfortunately the book's typesetter accidentally deleted the word 'not' which gave the impression that I was actually being prophetic. We

were deeply impressed by the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Gyula Horn, and his deputy, Laszlo Kovacs, who were to figure prominently in NAA-Hungarian relations, the collapse of the Berlin Wall and subsequent Hungarian politics. At the end of our groundbreaking visit we reported "This type of frank dialogue between different political systems can only be welcomed, and provides a standard against which to measure other trips to Eastern Europe that the Sub-Committee will make in the future."

We next visited Czechoslovakia from 21 to 24 February 1989, meeting virtually everybody of significance in Government, 'Parliament' and the military hierarchy. We visited the military establishments forbidden to NATO member state defence attachés and had a long discussion with the Chief of the General Staff, General Miroslav Vacek. However, unlike Hungary, Czechoslovakia displayed little sign whatsoever of any intention to reform and its dissidents, few in number, appeared to have been let out of their cages in an effort to convince us that opposition was tolerated. On the day we arrived Vaclav Havel was jailed for the last time though that was not to be known at that moment. He had been arrested on 15 January along with some Charter '77 and other activists in connection with the banned demonstrations commemorating the suicide of Jan Palach two decades earlier. I told the Committee that we would start off every meeting by strongly criticising the authorities for incarcerating Havel and his colleagues. We urged Czechoslovakia to observe the Vienna Concluding Document signed on 15 January that year which referred to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognising "The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association." Mr Havel was charged with 'incitement' and 'obstructing a public official' for attempting to lay flowers at a public monument.

Following my advice with great enthusiasm, members pursued every opportunity during the visit to raise the Havel case, to warn of the profound disadvantage to the country's reputation abroad, not to mention the damage domestically of using such a pretext to arrest a campaigning playwright and his colleagues. Throughout our visit we were shadowed somewhat indiscreetly by secret police and I was totally convinced that two had been deployed in our hotel restaurant where I was enjoying a meal with the Director of the Committee, John Borawski. As we left the table they followed menacingly and obtrusively. As they got very close to us I identified them not as KGB types but as the Principal of the Walsall College of Arts Technology and the Head of Engineering who were in Prague touting for students! One can see how paranoia prevails in an authoritarian society even on a short visit.

On our last night in Prague, our group of 18 split into two and met with independents/dissidents who had to brave a group of armed police in front of the meeting rooms arranged by the British and FRG Embassies. I met Olga and Ivan, the wife and brother of Vaclav Havel. I told Olga what we had said to everyone we had met about the injustice of her husband's imprisonment. I spoke to her for an hour and quite naturally she was desperately

unhappy that once again her courageous husband had been plucked away from her. I offered her not just our commiserations but notice of our intention, upon our return to our 15 respective countries, to proclaim loudly the profound sense of injustice we felt and to call for his release.

Had I possessed the benefit of far-sightedness I would have told her not to worry, that not only would her husband be out of jail in only a few months, but that he would be President and she would be First Lady! We didn't really anticipate the Velvet Revolution about to take place or frankly that it would ever take place. When it did actually happen I saw pictures of them on the balcony of Prague Castle waving to the crowds below and another picture of President Havel inspecting the military guard. I felt quite emotional. I still do a decade and a half later when I recall those events.

Our visit to Poland between 2 and 5 May the same year confirmed the assessment we had made in Hungary. Events were leading to dramatic changes and the flammable material of the region was reaching the point of natural combustion in many countries. The visit occurred only four weeks after the historic 'round table' agreements were concluded and we met with leading personalities across the political spectrum during what may be described as probably the most remarkable period in Poland's post-war history. The heavy-hitters of the sub-committee which I was then chairing were there: the President, British MP Sir Patrick Duffy; committee officers, Jan Petersen and Loïc Bouvard; and a powerful group of parliamentarians from ten countries. Both President Duffy and I expressed our will to consolidate links between West and East European parliaments and our intention to invite representatives of the two chambers of the future parliament to take part as observers at the forthcoming autumn session of the Political Committee in Rome. Members met Cardinal Glemp and flew to Szczecin to visit the Fifth Mechanized Infantry Regiment of the Twelfth Mechanized Infantry Division, the unit in which President Jaruzelski served as a young soldier in the Second World War. It was the first of many memorable visits.

This visit followed an expedition to Bulgaria between 20 and 23 March. Even then Bulgaria did not give the impression of a country about to undergo any further radical changes. Once again we met almost everybody of note. The leadership of the Bulgarian communist party was optimistic about its survival prospects in the changed Bulgaria as it was 'deeply rooted'. The visit was generally very serious but had its lighter moments. We visited a military establishment and, surrounded by television crews intrigued by a NATO-related visit, I climbed upon a T.80 tank and jumped as high as I could on this incredibly solid military vehicle. I was asked why and replied unwisely and incorrectly – intending to be humorous – that I had been invited by NATO to test the strength of a T.80 tank. The following day an article appeared with the improbable headline above a picture of my great leap: 'Visiting member of parliament admits he's a NATO spy.'

Pioneers in action. Members of the Political Committee visiting Bulgaria, March 1989.

Just a few months later, in July 1989, I took part in the first Assembly visit to the Soviet Union. This visit, as guests of the Supreme Soviet was quite extraordinary. It was led by President Duffy and comprised 19 parliamentarians from 12 Alliance nations. Our host at a lunch given for us in the Kremlin, with the Soviet flag very visible outside, asked us to rise and toast the United States in celebration of 4 July! The world was changing. There were three US Senators present in our delegation: Senators Roth, Mikulski and Robb. We met parliamentarians in the Kremlin, heads of institutes, ministers and deputy ministers, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Latvia, General Vladimir Lobov, Chief of Staff of the Warsaw treaty Joint Armed Forces, and the famous author Roy Medvedev. As with our visits to other previously Eastern bloc countries, we ranged over a wide range of security topics.

We met with Yevgeny Primakov, Chairman of the Soviet Union and then with the Chairman of the Council, Prime Minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov. I asked the latter how large the Soviet Defence budget was. He gave us the official figure but acknowledged it was not accurate and that he did not really know. He invited us on our return to consult both the Central and Defence Intelligence Agencies' estimates which were probably more accurate. His frankness on the subject was quite remarkable. He told us that the Soviet Union had to spend

over 12% of national income just to maintain parity with the United States. Frankly we felt it was much higher but even the figure he announced was deemed to be remarkably high. He stressed his paramount goal was an improvement in the standard of living and that there were many distortions in production requiring urgent structural changes. The most pressing concern was food, with up to a third of all crops lost 'on the way'.

We had quite a remarkable meeting with Defence Minister Dimitri Yazov and senior military officials. Later Yazov would become a Marshall and then a prisoner for his role in a failed coup attempt. He told us that the Soviet Union was deeply concerned by the United States' 20 aircraft carriers and the five British and equal number of French carriers. Senator Robb strongly disputed the alleged number of US carriers. Equally in disbelief I reminded him that the British were always suspicious of the French and that this was confirmed by his revelation that the French Navy had three more carriers than previously thought to exist by British intelligence. Further, as a member of the Defence Committee, I was grateful to find that Soviet intelligence had uncovered two more British carriers than had been authorised by Parliament. I continued that if the Russian Kiev class vessels weren't carriers as Yazov claimed, then neither were our three which were of almost identical design! He relented upon advice on the British and French numbers, but stood by his American figures.

It was clear by the end of the visit that proposals for a continuing dialogue between the NAA and the Supreme Soviet should proceed as swiftly as possible.

These visits became increasingly commonplace and as Simon Lunn, then Deputy Secretary General, wrote in my Jane's NATO Handbook, "The surge of activity represents the recognition by assembly members that the process of economic and political change in the East requires western support and encouragement at all levels including the parliamentary level. The existence of an effective legislature capable of monitoring and controlling executive power is an essential component of any democratic system..."

The Assembly's record is one of which it can be justly proud. However, as I have said earlier there were a few problems en route to the incorporation of many groups of parliamentarians into our proceedings. There was a crisis involving myself as Chairman of the Political Committee and the Standing Committee, when I informed them in May 1988 at the spring session in Madeira that I had invited Gyula Horn to address the autumn session later that year in Hamburg. My announcement was greeted with both shock and horror. This was a bridge too far, and they refused. I pointed out the relevant section of our rules of procedure which said that I could invite anybody I wished, including a communist deputy Foreign Minister. And so, at my invitation, Mr Horn duly appeared. The leadership of the Assembly did very little to assist the packed meeting, in which Mr Horn had to provide his own interpreter. But Mr Horn's speech was sensational, so much so that the many doubters

were convinced of the worth of a much closer relationship and the enthusiasm of many of the former sceptics on occasions even overran my own.

One of the initially most sceptical members of the Standing Committee, the leader of the UK delegation, and a close personal friend, Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, leapt over my head in his enthusiasm to embrace our former adversaries and invited General Lobov, simultaneously a parliamentarian and Chief of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and later to rise to the rank of Chief of General Staff of the Soviet military, to address the NAA's Military Committee during the Rome autumn session in October 1989.

Breaking the ice. From left: Admiral Jonathan Howe, General Vladimir Lobov and the author during a meeting of the Assembly's Political Committee in Rome, October 1989.

This would have been an historical first for the NAA and for my friend's Military Committee on the first afternoon of our session had it not been for General Lobov's impromptu attendance at the morning meeting of the Political Committee. The meeting was addressed by an American Admiral Jonathan Howe who was Commander of NATO forces in the Mediterranean, and whom General Lobov heckled throughout. In the coffee break we all met and I invited General Lobov to sit up on the platform with me and Admiral Howe in an effort to restrain his interruptions from the back of the hall. He accepted and I was delighted at this quite remarkable and, until that point, unique dialogue between such senior officers of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

I apologised profusely to Geoffrey saying that General Lobov had virtually forced his way to the top table, inadvertently allowing the Political Committee the prestige of being the first NAA committee ever to be addressed by a Warsaw Pact General. Sir Geoffrey was sceptical of my lame excuse as he had every right to be. Nevertheless we remained close friends, and there were occasions afterwards when he bested me in revenge, not least in changing his Committee's name to the much broader Defence and Security Committee, allowing it to compete with the Political Committee in its jurisdiction. General Lobov later met with students from a local school in my Walsall constituency and charmed them.

Another problem emerged in the 1990 autumn session in London. By this time the Standing Committee was not only reconciled but highly enthusiastic about having parliamentarians from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe attending our proceedings. However, they drew the line, inexplicably, at inviting a Romanian delegation to attend. I, in turn,

refused to accept this. I wanted every member state of our former military adversaries whom we had met to be present at the Political Committee *including* Romania. Nor was I prepared to tolerate their collective presence as second class delegates stuck in the back two rows of the conference hall. I insisted they take their rightful place seated amongst the members of the NAA in alphabetical order. My stubbornness prevailed and along came the former Foreign Minister post-Ceausescu and new parliamentarian Oliviu Gherman, President of the Senate and later Ambassador to France, who made an excellent speech.

The star speaker however was not billed at all in my programme and his appearance as a member of the Czechoslovakian delegation was something of a surprise. I interrupted our schedule and left the Chair to invite him to make a few impromptu remarks. The gentleman in question was Alexander Dubcek and he went on to speak for an hour to the pleasure of all those in attendance. I suppose in a way he had started the whole reform process some two decades earlier.

A symbolic moment. Alexander Dubcek at the London session, 1990.

At the London session, the Assembly adopted resolution 224 on 'New Regional Responsibilities for a Transformed Alliance' that created the new status of 'associate delegation'. By now all internal wrangling was over and the scene was set for future meetings with progressively more and more countries in attendance at the Assembly. Previously undreamt-of levels of integration became natural and the meetings bore great fruit. Many are now of course full members – their countries having acceded to NATO. I acknowledge what my colleagues, particularly on the Political Committee, did in those early years and what the Assembly as a whole has achieved.

The Committee was innovative in other areas too. We had an excellent relationship with Ambassador Henning Wegener, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, who sat alongside me throughout our sessions and was able to respond to questions from the floor. We also colluded shamelessly as he was clearly far in advance of most of his NATO colleagues in developing closer ties with Warsaw Treaty Organization member states. We were also ahead of our time in enhancing the Assembly's endeavours vis-à-vis the Mediterranean – a region much neglected for years by NATO members, though not by the Assembly.

The historian Thomas W. Simons Jr. wrote that "1990 was by and large a year of hope, as country after country embarked on its version of liberation and new direction. By and large they all grasped the banner the West had held before them over four long communist

John Borawski

An account of the role of the Assembly in this period would not be complete without recognition of the contribution of John Borawski, Director of the Political Committee from 1987 to 1999.
John had a natural affinity for, and interest in, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, inspired partly by his family background. He recognized very early on the potential for change through the latent democratic forces emerging in these countries. Together with a number of energetic officers and members of the Assembly's Political Committee at that time, John was responsible for many of the Assembly's early initiatives towards these countries. Much of what is now recognized as the Assembly's pioneering work in this crucial period was due to his energy and foresight.

John Borawski (centre) with former US National Security Adviser Zbignew Brezinski (left) and the late Jerry Solomon (United States), Chairman of the Political Committee, an Assembly Vice-President and an ardent supporter of NATO enlargement. Oslo, 1992.

John's real passion, however, was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the "Helsinki process" and its successor, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). He became one of the leading authorities in this field, publishing many articles and books. He was a ferocious researcher consuming all available sources on his areas of interest and he wrote prodigiously both for the Assembly and in his personal capacity.
John was a highly talented and eclectic individual whose diverse interests were a never-ending source of interest and amusement to his colleagues. On the surface he was a quiet, reserved individual. However, his unassuming demeanour concealed a range of diverse talents: an accomplished musician, a sharp – if unorthodox – sense of humour and a remarkable gift for impersonation.
With his departure, the Secretariat lost a conscientious Committee Director who had made a substantial contribution to his Committee and the Assembly during what were exciting and formative days.
His premature death shortly after leaving the Assembly to return to the United States was a great loss to his friends and former colleagues.

Simon Lunn

John's death saddened friends at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and far beyond. I admired him enormously for the depth and the breadth of his knowledge on security and defence. We worked together very closely during a very formative period of the Assembly's evolution, before and immediately after 1989. In addition to immense professionalism he had a wicked sense of humour. He was a superb mimic of colleagues including parliamentarians' style of speaking and patterns of behaviour. He strenuously denied that I was in his repertoire, but I certainly was. It was done totally without malice. We all lost a good friend and an outstanding analyst.

Bruce George

decades: liberal democracy and the free market." 1991 was a far less productive year, notably hosting the break-ups of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and non-violently Czechoslovakia. By now, despite the set-backs, the NAA was firing on all cylinders. Our activities, indeed those of the Assembly, had been rejuvenated. No longer would our proceedings be dominated by internal disputes and anxieties over the Soviet Union. From now on with our former enemies in our midst, making speeches, speaking – though not yet voting – on resolutions we became a very different organization in so many respects. Further, hundreds of new parliamentarians joined us from former Warsaw Pact countries, gaining experience of parliamentary and interparliamentary activity. They gained a greater knowledge of us and we of them. Visits increased exponentially. The US-funded Rose-Roth initiative was of inestimable importance in furthering contacts and in assisting the political and parliamentary development of generations of new parliamentarians. NATO also responded to the challenge and new security environment with its North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC) and later the Partnership for Peace initiative. But I think just for a short period we were in advance of them and showed the way. We were first.

I would like to thank Jacqueline Pforr and Anthony McGee
for their assistance in the preparation of this contribution.
Behind the Committee, and playing such an enormous role
in these epochal events, was the late John Borawski,
former Director of the Political Committee.
Those who knew him lament his passing.

* * *

First Contacts with the Supreme Soviet

Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith
Former Treasurer of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
Former Chairman of the Military Committee.
Former Head of the United Kingdom Delegation.

In the later stages of the Gorbachev era of "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" and the democratic stirrings throughout Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the NATO PA, then the "North Atlantic Assembly" (NAA), began to put out feelers to the traditional adversary – the Soviet Union. Initial contacts were made through academic institutions in Moscow and certain personalities who were willing to act as intermediaries and who occupied that ambiguous space between official and unofficial status that was typical of single party systems. A series of workshops and round tables were held in Brussels and Moscow involving NAA members and staff, Moscow based "institutniki" and various individuals who, it was said, were close to the senior echelons of the Soviet leadership.

From these 'informal' meetings came the idea of a formal visit to the Soviet Union of an NAA parliamentary group. Consequently, led by then NATO PA President, British Member of Parliament, Sir Patrick Duffy, a group of NAA luminaries visited Moscow and Leningrad. The visit included meetings in the Ministry of Defence, where we were met by Defence Minister Ustinov flanked by a row of be-medalled Soviet Generals resplendent in their impressive surroundings, confirming what we had been told about the elevated and advantaged position enjoyed by the Soviet military. We were equally impressed by the interesting presentations on the respective forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact – and more than somewhat surprised to hear of the levels of forces and capabilities attributed to our individual countries. Either our own governments were deceiving us or someone in Moscow was getting his numbers wrong.

First visit by an Assembly delegation to the former Soviet Union, July 1989.

As Chairman of the Assembly's Military Committee, I was particularly interested in these exchanges and keen to engage with the Soviet military in order to understand more of their thinking and for them to hear ours. This was no easy task, as in the Soviet system, the military occupied a privileged position which was highly resistant to the intrusion of civilians or "non-professionals", and particularly to Western parliamentarians, as our exchanges in Moscow so vividly demonstrated.

Nevertheless, through these initial contacts, we persuaded General Vladimir Lobov, then Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact, to attend our committee meeting in Rome and to speak on the same platform as General John Galvin (SACEUR). This was an event of great significance for us, and my committee in particular, as it was the first time a NATO Commander and a Warsaw Pact Commander

The author (centre) chairing the Assembly's Military Committee in Rome, October 1989 and the first ever formal exchange between General Vladimir Lobov, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact (left) and General John Galvin, SACEUR (right).

had shared the same platform. Our sense of occasion was slightly diminished by the fact that General Lobov had been persuaded to make a fleeting morning appearance at the meeting of the Political Committee by its Chairman, Bruce George, with whom I maintained a friendly, but distinctly competitive, rivalry. However, General Lobov later restored our sense of achievement when he confided to me that his appearance at the Political Committee had been more for good public relations – as a highly experienced professional soldier, he knew where the real expertise in the Assembly lay. And indeed the exchange between the two Commanders more than fulfilled our expectations.

This occasion was followed by a visit to Brussels by a delegation from the Supreme Soviet led by a senior party official, Valentin Falin, but also including two deputies of very senior rank, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev and the same General Lobov. While differences over capabilities and intentions remained profound, the personal relations these meetings created began to soften the edges of the relationship.

We also arranged for the delegation to visit NATO Secretary General, Manfred Wörner, an occasion that would have been unthinkable only a year earlier. However, we were somewhat mystified afterwards by the apparently dissatisfied reaction of the Soviet group, particularly the military. It transpired that Marshal Akhromeyev and General Lobov did not believe they had seen the 'real NATO' because during the visit they had not seen any uniforms! In vain, we tried to persuade them that actually NATO was a political-military organization with more diplomats and civil servants than uniforms, and that the operational command, SHAPE, where uniforms were in abundance, was 50 kilometres away. This misunderstanding was yet another indication of the gap in perceptions owing to the profound differences between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Despite these minor setbacks, the relationship between the Assembly and the Supreme Soviet continued to develop with visits to the Soviet Union by Assembly Committees and the participation by Soviet deputies in Assembly sessions. At the London session in November 1990, the Supreme Soviet was granted Associate status. However, relations were dramatically changed when the Soviet Union collapsed and rather than one Associate delegation, the Assembly was faced by demands for similar status from several of the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union.

This was a brief but highly informative period when the leadership of the two adversarial organizations began to explore their fundamental assumptions about each other. It was an indication of the problems to come as we began to develop relations with the successor state to the Soviet Union, Russia, and its new parliament.

We were all saddened by the news that following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Marshal Akhromeyev had committed suicide. A committed Communist, he was a straightforward and upright military figure who had served his country with great valour during the Second World War. He was a figure we had grown to respect, and his sad end in many ways typified the enormity of the changes that were taking place in Russia and that we had the privilege of witnessing directly from their earliest stages.

Loïc Bouvard
Member of the French Delegation. Former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Former Chairman of the Political Committee.

What an extraordinary era this was! Just think: the whole of Europe was still feeling the effects of the end of the Cold War, or rather the collapse of the Soviet empire and of communism, which had dominated all of Eastern Europe for half a century and against which the Atlantic Pact had set up a barrier which proved insurmountable, bringing victory in the end without a shot being fired!

But in the East everything was disintegrating. The former regimes were falling one after another, the satellites were gaining their independence, reasserting their true sovereignty, and Soviet Socialist Republics from the Baltic States to the Caucasus and Central Asia were becoming independent. Russia itself was wavering and seemed likely to break up. The West, represented by the Atlantic Alliance and NATO, its integrated military organization, triumphed.

It was in this context, unimaginable only four years earlier, that I had the extraordinary good fortune in Bruges in November 1992 to be elected President of the North Atlantic Assembly (now NATO PA), a position I held for two one-year terms, the most our rules allow.

Our Assembly, in which I have had a seat since 1979 without a break as one of the eighteen representatives of France, has had a major pioneering role on the European continent. As from 1988, contacts had been made with the Ambassador of Hungary, and when the Berlin Wall came down and the Iron Curtain opened some of us went immediately to the new infant republics. Thus, for example, with Jan Petersen, the present Foreign Minister of Norway, and Pelle Voigt we met Vytautas Landsbergis, the first President of an independent Lithuania, in Vilnius in his Parliament office, which was still surrounded by blockhouses and barbed wire!

The presidencies preceding my own, those of Patrick Duffy (1988-1990) and Charlie Rose (1990-1992) had witnessed the enormous upheaval in Europe. British MP, Bruce George and I had been closely involved in those early meetings with our neighbours from the East, each of us as Chairman of the Political Committee. I remember that day on an air base in East Berlin in 1990 with young East German MiG pilots, dumbfounded at meeting NATO parliamentarians who used to belong to the former Warsaw Pact; Bruce had been able to address them with great tact, but they remained deeply troubled and confused.

I remember the face-to-face meeting between General Vladimir Lobov and General John Galvin in Rome in 1989. What an intense emotional experience for us all! These two

Generals, the military leaders of the two opposing Alliances, who had been enemies yesterday, speaking to each other for the first time!

And then how can I fail to mention that seminar in Tallinn, after which the eighty of us attending (parliamentarians, military, officials, academics) starting singing "The Song of the Volga Boatmen", linking arms and swaying left and right, and the American colonel standing beside a Russian admiral saying to me just after: "It's hard to believe, think of it, I've been preparing for thirty years to fight these guys and now I'm dancing with them!"

Perhaps it was not euphoria but a great rush of optimism that inspired us: we were going to create a new European defence architecture!

Thus the North Atlantic Assembly took to its heart associate delegations from all the countries of the East, including Russia and Ukraine. The delegations from these two great countries tore each other apart with great enthusiasm during the round table discussions that we organised and we westerners had to try to calm their squabbling!

Jan Petersen (Norway) meets the first President of an independent Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis.

As parliamentarians we were much freer than the official representatives of our governments in establishing direct relations with all these countries and there were countless visits during the period 1989-1999 by our committees, sub-committees and Rose-Roth seminars. The latter were initiated by two American parliamentarians who had obtained the necessary funding from Congress to finance the participation of our colleagues from the East at these seminars. I personally have attended more than forty of them during the last fifteen years.

I have no hesitation in saying that by doing this the Assembly played a vital part in bringing the leaders of all these countries together and in their development towards democracy, because this was an arduous task for them. Just think of it: after forty-five years of communist slavery, with all-powerful Politburos, sole candidates in elections and secret police such as the "Stasi" in East Germany and the "Securitate" in Ceausescu's Romania keeping the people under surveillance!

One day a representative of that country said to me: "Living under the communist yoke was like living in a room with the ceiling one metre from the floor. In those days there were three ways to survive, by crawling like a snake, checking your growth at 0.9 metres like a dwarf, or walking bent double. "Now", he added, "that the ceiling has been raised to three

metres from the floor, those who have never known anything except crawling continue to do so, those whose growth has been arrested can no longer grow and only the others can rise to their feet, straighten up and lead a normal life, but that will take a long time!"

Thus I became President of the Assembly in November 1992, the first French President since General Béthouart in 1959! I assessed the extent of my responsibilities and the difficulties of my task! I will summarise this by saying that, with the aid of Peter Corterier, himself a former President of the Assembly in 1984 and at the time Secretary General of our organization, I set myself three targets.

First: to welcome representatives from East European countries as warmly as possible by making them feel how proud and happy we were to have them among us in what I called "our big family". That is how I eliminated the signs that might show a difference between our delegations, for example the colour and placing of our names on our tables or arranging our countries' flags in alphabetical order rather than NATO flags on one side and associate countries' flags on the other. These might seem like small gestures, but at that moment, they were very important psychologically and helped to bind us together.

As President I visited almost all the East European countries on presidential assignment, always accompanied by Peter Corterier, whose knowledge of these countries and shrewd analysis of the international situation were so valuable to me. Among others we met Lech Walesa, the President of Poland, Vaclav Havel, the President of Czechoslovakia, Ion Iliescu, the President of Romania, Stanislas Chouchkevitch, the President of Belarus, Zheliyu Jelev, the President of Bulgaria, Sali Berisha, the President of Albania, Jozsef Antall, the Prime Minister of Hungary, and many others. Each time I was asked to address our contacts' Parliament I sensed how eager they were to come closer to NATO.

Peter Corterier

Peter Corterier, a committed Atlanticist, served as Secretary General of the Assembly from 1987 to 1996. A lawyer by profession with a Doctorate in Law from the University of Bonn, from his early youth he was deeply involved in the Social Democratic Party in Germany and in politics in general. He was elected to the Bundestag in 1969 until 1983, and again from 1984 to 1987. From 1981 to 1982 he was Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Peter was a committed supporter of NATO and the transatlantic relationship. He served the Assembly and the Alliance in a variety of key functions: he was an active member of the Assembly's Political Committee, he was President of the Assembly, President of the Atlantic Treaty Association, and then Secretary General of the Assembly.

He took over the Assembly during the Gorbachev years and the very first signs of the eventual fragmentation of the Soviet Empire. Peter's political expertise, personal enthusiasm and wide-ranging contacts were of enormous benefit to the Assembly during his stewardship.

So our Alliance created the Partnership for Peace, the precondition for future membership and the cement essential to the cohesion of a continent in the throes of transformation.

Second: to try by every possible means not to isolate Russia, which had been repelled and which, on the contrary, ought to be bound to us; hence the frequent missions to that country, including one to observe the elections of 1993, and other efforts to extend the hand of friendship. I remember the Russian Ambassador in Brussels in 1994 coming to tell me: "Mr President, tell your governments that we will never agree to the Baltic states joining NATO!", and my reply: "Mr Ambassador, we will never build the new Europe without Russia, and still less against Russia!" So we created the "Presidential Task Force" co-chaired by Charlie Rose and myself, and I remember the first meeting in Washington shortly before the end of my term of office.

In May 1993 we met in plenary session in the Reichstag, so rich in historical associations, in Berlin, which I had visited many times during the Cold War years, when we looked at East Berlin over the Wall. When I saw before me the representatives of all the assembled countries and Americans, Canadians, Russians, Ukrainians and West and East Europeans side by side, I could not help thinking that I was present at an extraordinary and historic moment, with all the peoples of the Euro-Atlantic community coming together at last in the same cause: their new architecture for defence and peace in Europe.

Assembly members visiting the Iron Curtain near Hamburg, November 1988.

Third, to open our doors to the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. Thus I obtained "parliamentary observer" status for these countries from the Standing Committee, after several unsuccessful attempts, because I had a premonition, with others and above all with Peter Corterier and Paulette Brisepierre, that the Mediterranean would become a new area of concern and action for the Alliance, which has in fact happened.

In Washington in November 1994, on the last day of my presidency, I had the pleasure of hoisting the Moroccan flag alongside all the others, with Mr Abelwahad Radi, the Head of the Moroccan delegation at the time and today the President of that country's National Assembly. In so doing we were also the precursors of that Mediterranean dialogue which has become one of NATO's priorities.

This was the period in which we tried to define a new role for NATO, which could no longer justify itself as countering the threat from the Soviet bloc, while preserving its irreplaceable function as an agent of solidarity among our countries for joint defence. Our Presidential Task Force produced a report entitled "America and Europe" in which we advocated peacekeeping and peace restoration missions, because despite our exhortations our governments had long hesitated to commit themselves in the Balkans, the result of which we all know!

In conclusion I am in a position to say, having known three quite distinct and very different periods with the Assembly (1979-1989, the Cold War; 1989-2001, should I call it the interwar period and the Balkans drama!; 11 September 2001 to the present, the new order with the spectre of terrorism), that for us NATO Assembly parliamentarians the intermediate period, seeing Europe transform itself from top to bottom, was definitely the most thrilling.

Today NATO and the European Union have grown stronger and have extended eastwards, with member countries numbering 26 and 25 (soon to be 27) respectively. We know from experience how fragile the new balance is and how vital it is to preserve and strengthen the cohesion of our nations in view of the new threats of terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts and organised crime.

A North America (Canada and the world power that is the United States) linked to a Europe which sees itself as a full partner due to the European Constitution and the imperatives that it implies in foreign affairs and defence, extending the hand of friendship to Russia and Eastern Europe in order to create a vast community of security and democracy extending from Vancouver to Vladivostok, is the best way for the Euro-Atlantic community to take on its full meaning and true value in the twenty-first century.

Long may our unity continue; it has been and remains the guarantee of our independence and our freedom.

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Karsten Voigt
Co-ordinator for German-American Co-operation in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany. Former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Former Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee.
Former Member of the German Delegation.

During the Cold War, the Assembly's lack of formal status as a non-treaty based organization and the absence of formally specified roles, rights and obligations was a matter of concern for many members. Yet, in the years of transition from Cold War to a pan-European peaceful order, what seemed to some to be a disadvantage proved to be a great asset. The Assembly was able to react much more flexibly, innovatively and also sooner than other institutions in the West to the initially hesitant and then ever quicker changes in Eastern Europe.

The work of the Political Committee's Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe, which was strongly influenced by the British Labour MP Bruce George[1], is a good example of this. This Sub-Committee not only regularly informed NATO parliamentarians of changes in Eastern Europe, but also made contact early on with parliamentarians and institutions, both those close to the government and those of the opposition, in the Warsaw Pact member states.

The first major success of this pioneering work was the address by Gyula Horn, State Secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, to the Political Committee in Hamburg during the annual session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in November 1988. This was the first speech by a representative of a Warsaw Pact country to such a forum. In his comments, the future Hungarian Prime Minister spoke highly of the Western notion of democracy. He stated Hungary's readiness to accede to the Council of Europe's human rights covenant. He talked about positive contacts with the European Parliament, expressed Hungary's willingness to publish its military budget and criticised the stationing of foreign troops in European countries.

Against the background of this speech, the comments made by the then German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, and his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt, seemed almost conventional, although they reacted very positively to Mikhail Gorbachev's reform efforts. They both stressed the necessity of active arms control. Going further than Chancellor Kohl, Helmut Schmidt called the modernisation of short-range nuclear missiles being discussed in NATO at that time a third-class problem created by the military which was of little or no relevance to the war prevention strategy.

I submitted a report on the Alliance's strategy to the then Military Committee[2] of the Assembly in Hamburg, in which I called for a reform of arms control, as well as of military strategies in East and West. This report generated a heated debate in Hamburg. However, subsequently advocates of security policy reform strategies in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Soviet Union, often cited this study in their own publications, referring to

1. See Bruce George's contribution in this Chapter.

2. Now called the Defence and Security Committee.

The author (left) and Gyula Horn, then Hungarian Foreign Minister, Hamburg, November 1988.

what they termed "reform efforts within NATO" to back up their own efforts. In order to stimulate this East-West dialogue on reforming military strategies, I took the initiative of inviting the Soviet Marshall Akhromeyev, with whom I had already spoken some time before in Moscow. This invitation later led to a speech by the Marshall to the Assembly's Military Committee. However, Marshall Akhromeyev was not the first speaker from the Soviet Union to address this committee. General Lobov, a member of the Supreme Soviet and then Warsaw Pact Chief-of-Staff, addressed the Committee in Rome in October 1989. In his speech, and also in the debate, arms control and disarmament issues began to be increasingly overshadowed by the political changes in the Warsaw Pact member states.

That also applied to my report on Alliance strategy which was adopted by the Defence and Security Committee of the Assembly in the autumn of 1989. At the spring session of the Assembly in Antalya, the quality of my report was – as stated in an internal German Foreign Ministry memo – expressly commended, although its content gave rise to a controversial discussion. In the fall of 1989, the theory put forward in this report, to the effect that the political transformation resulting from the successful reforms in Eastern Europe would make possible a functional demilitarisation of East-West relations and a revision of NATO's flexible response strategy, was pushed into the background, while Germany's future was increasingly the focus of attention.

In 1989, I did not yet realise that Germany would be reunited as early as the autumn of 1990 with the consent of its neighbours in both the East and the West, and would remain part of NATO. In the autumn of 1989 (i.e. before the fall of the Berlin Wall) I wrote, "in what institutional form the coexistence between the Germans and their right to self-determination will one day be realised cannot yet be foreseen". But together with the majority of NATO parliamentarians, the majority of the German delegates spoke out against a separate German course and put forward the following argument against German neutrality: "Through the voluntary surrender of sovereignty European states can pursue their interests more constructively and effectively within multilateral institutions than through strictly national efforts. This necessarily implies a multilateral meshing of foreign and security policies". Further on in the report it says: "Any overdrawn aspirations to sovereignty in security policy in Western Europe would precipitate the virulent re-emergence of the old type of nationalism long since overcome and of accompanying tensions between states and their populace... The US security presence in Europe exerts a stabilising effect on the continent.

This US presence should remain in the spirit of the CSCE Final Act, even if a viable European 'pillar' were successfully built within NATO... The days of one-sided dependence of Western Europe are over; it is time to think seriously about structures designed for interdependence and partnership."

In the months between the Assembly's autumn session held in Rome in October 1989 and its spring session held in Paris in May 1990, the course had already been set for the swift unification of the two German states and membership of united Germany in NATO and the European Union. However, the 2+4 negotiations between the two German states and the Four powers had by no means been concluded. Many key questions were still disputed. At the fall session in October 1989 – i.e. before the fall of the Berlin Wall – the debate focussed on developments in Eastern Europe as a whole. In the spring of 1990, the main topics of debate were the policies and the security status of a united Germany. None of the parliamentarians openly expressed their opposition to unification although concerns were certainly expressed in private. Some parliamentarians stressed the key role played by the CSCE. But no one publicly opposed united Germany's membership of NATO.

The consensus among the German representatives was greater than in the German parliaments: in contrast to the situation in Bonn and East Berlin, all German parliamentarians attending the Assembly's meetings favoured German unification and united Germany's membership of NATO and the European Union. This became particularly apparent in a special report on *"Transitional Arrangements for Integrating a Unified German Federal State with Respect to Foreign and Security Policy"*, which I submitted to the Assembly, as well as in the speeches of the Christian Democratic Head of the West German delegation, Manfred Abelein, and his Social Democratic deputy, Walter Kröning, as well as that of the Head of the delegation from the GDR's freely elected People's Chamber, Jürgen Schröder. The Assembly endorsed this position in a vote on European security.

NATO parliamentarians were able to witness first-hand how fundamentally the situation in the GDR had changed within six months when they travelled to Berlin, Dresden and Strausberg in early July at the invitation of the freely elected People's Chamber. The GDR's Ministry of Defence was in Strausberg. There the Minister of Defence, who had come from the civil rights movement, and his military commanders, who had been trained in the Warsaw Pact tradition, explained the GDR's future military policy. For me, these discussions and meetings were, of course, very moving. However, they were by no means unique. They were typical of this period of radical change, not only in the GDR but in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as a whole.

The participation of democratically elected representatives of the GDR Parliament in the Assembly spring session was also unique in that at the subsequent fall session held in London in November 1990, they were no longer an independent delegation but part of a

representation of united Germany's parliament. The policy of opening up the Assembly towards the East resulted, via unification of the two German states, in the GDR becoming the first former member of the Warsaw Pact to join NATO. As for the other Central and East European countries, intensifying dialogue and co-operation was still the main interest at that time. In May 1989 and as a first step towards eventual integration, the Assembly's Political Committee decided in an 18 to 9 vote to invite parliamentarians from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia to a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe due to be held in Bonn in November. This first round table focussed on the exchange of ideas on the parliamentary control rights of defence committees vis-à-vis the executive: a central aspect of democratic transformation which continued to be the subject of seminars and conferences in subsequent years.

This first step to open up the NATO PA was quickly followed by others: regular invitations issued to parliamentary observers from Eastern Europe to attend NATO PA sessions and committee meetings. At its London session in November 1990, it was decided to upgrade the status of parliamentary representatives from Central and Eastern Europe and to create associate delegates alongside observer status. These associate delegates were to be permitted to take part not only in plenary sessions but also in committee and sub-committee meetings. In due course, they were also granted the right to speak, to contribute reports, and to submit resolutions and amendments.

An internal German Foreign Ministry memo of 14 December 1990 stated: "If the North Atlantic Assembly continues the present course of opening up to parliamentarians from Central and East European countries, it will play a pioneering political role which we fully support. It is quite remarkable that the participation of representatives from Central and Eastern Europe in the discussion at this year's autumn session felt so natural, and it opens up a host of prospects: this has already become European normality, something long regarded as impossible."

The most important event in Europe in 1990 was German unification on 3 October. The foreign and security policy framework for German unity was negotiated by a relatively small group of government representatives at the 2+4 Talks. I myself was one of a small group of German MPs at that time who helped this process through parliament. In the Assembly, the process of German unification was the subject of numerous discussions, but on this issue, NATO parliamentarians had no real influence. However, the situation was completely different in the run-up to the decisions on NATO's eastward enlargement.

As early as the Assembly fall session held in London in November 1990, the Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski expressed the fear that Poland could become a buffer zone between the superpower Soviet Union and a stronger Germany. He also stated his firm opposition to the renationalisation of security policy in Europe. He thus identified the two key security policy problems following the end of the Cold War. But neither he nor Alexander Dubcek, who also spoke during the plenary session, suggested then that the

solution to these problems might be an eastward enlargement of NATO. Just like the majority of the Assembly, they were still in favour of strengthening the CSCE, and Krzysztof Skubiszewski even then came out in favour of Poland's future EU membership.

As early as January 1991, I put forward the idea of a "kind of association of NATO with the states of Eastern Europe" in an internal paper for the SPD's foreign policy experts. I did not begin to argue in favour of the eastward enlargement of NATO until early 1992. I described the North Atlantic Co-operation Council as the first step towards this goal. "The offer to Eastern Europe to take part in the voluntary and democratic internationalism of Western institutions must be an attractive alternative to the temptations of nationalism and chauvinism." A Hungarian diplomat reminded me years later that I had suggested to him then that Hungary should start considering membership of NATO. He drew up a report on this for his Foreign Ministry which provoked incredulous responses.

In the Assembly, the champions of NATO's eastward enlargement were originally in a small minority. Conservative NATO traditionalists and left-wing "CSCE first" politicians were against this idea. What is more, there were national reservations about a larger role for NATO in Europe following the end of the Cold War.

The debate only really began to gain momentum when an Assembly working group on NATO enlargement was established. I was appointed Rapporteur under Republican Senator William Roth and the Democratic Representative Charlie Rose. Subsequently, the Italian Giorgio Napolitano and the Hungarian Tamas Wachsler were appointed Co-rapporteurs. In an exchange of letters with parliamentarians from prospective member states, I asked questions about the fulfilment of accession criteria and specific security policy expectations and prerequisites which could not be asked by NATO itself at this early stage. I subsequently discovered that many in NATO circles had wondered who had granted me the right to ask such questions. Obviously not all civil servants had understood that this procedure was the specific right and also the original task of parliamentarians.

At the time of my election to President of the Assembly in Washington in November 1994, eastward enlargement was already officially being discussed among NATO member governments. In my view, the Assembly's task now was to win the support of parliamentarians who still had reservations

Assembly President, Karsten Voigt (centre) visiting US forces serving with UNPREDEP in the FYR of Macedonia, October 1996.

about a first round of enlargement and to discuss the strategy for a second round with parliamentarians from countries which had no chance of joining in the first round. This first task proved to be relatively simple because opposition to a first round of enlargement quickly evaporated after the Clinton Administration – supported by key European governments – expressed its support. The second task was difficult because there was no sign of any support for a second round of enlargement among either NATO parliamentarians or NATO governments. For this reason, I understood the scepticism which I encountered during my visits to the Baltic states, Bulgaria and Romania in my capacity as President of the Assembly.

When the Assembly met for the first time in a former member country of the Warsaw Pact, in May 1995 at the Budapest session, and two prominent supporters of NATO enlargement, the American Richard Holbrooke and the German Volker Rühe, spoke, this symbolised the success of a political strategy which the Assembly had done much to draw up. For many, this marked the conclusion of a development; but for me it was the end of the first phase in a longer process.

A process that is still unfolding and in which the Assembly is still playing a central role.

* * *

The Creation of the Rose-Roth Seminar Programme

Simon Lunn

During a gathering at the Civic Forum Club in Prague in May 1991, newly-elected President of the North Atlantic Assembly, Congressman Charlie Rose, posed a question that was to have long term consequences for the Assembly. Having recently seen during a presidential visit the difficult conditions facing both Romania and Czechoslovakia following the collapse of communism, he asked what the Assembly could do to help these and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) develop pluralistic and democratic societies.

Noting that during the Cold War the Assembly had been "a comfortable club for the sixteen" playing a valuable supporting, but essentially reactive role, Congressman Rose suggested that the current situation called for a more proactive approach. In other words, he wanted the Assembly to do "something" that would assist these new parliaments to acquire the structures, practices and experience essential to remedy the very evident democratic deficit.

What the "something" could be was not immediately obvious. The process of integrating parliamentarians from the newly independent countries into the Assembly had already begun through the creation of "Associate Delegation status" at the previous London session. This meant that they could attend the biannual Assembly sessions. However it was already obvious that for many of them even this participation would be stretching their slender economic means.

One obvious proposal, therefore, was to find a way of subsidizing this involvement. However, financial support for attendance at biannual sessions was not enough, surely more could be done. So why not a series of seminars, less grandiose than the formal Assembly sessions but more frequent and specifically tailored to the needs of the new parliaments. And why not also training programmes in order to help the development of qualified parliamentary staff. All of this sounded very promising but there was one question: where would the money come from to finance these extra activities and the participation of partner parliamentarians?

This was where congressional "can do" spirit came to the fore. Why not ask the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to provide money from the effort they were already making to help democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and thereby stimulate other parliaments to make additional resources available. But it was not clear why USAID should help a non-US "foreign" body. They would need persuading, again more congressional "can do". Charlie Rose set to work in his role as Chairman of the House Administration Committee and together with the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Dante Facell, and his chief counsel, Spencer Oliver, mobilized support on the House side. Republican Senator Bill Roth had already agreed to co-sponsor the initiative, giving a crucial bi-partisan and bi-chamber dimension to the initiative. Senior staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, John Ritch drafted language in the congressional "Support for East European Democracy" (SEED) legislation and generated a letter of support from a substantial number of senior Senators. This was joined by similar figures in the House of Representatives. All of which was to recommend that USAID provide funding for this initiative and allocate a small portion of the annual SEED budget to a "highly cost effective endeavour undertaken by the NAA".

Faced with this barrage of congressional support, a somewhat surprised and bemused USAID – "what is the NAA and is Japan a member?" were amongst the first questions from officials – had little choice but to acquiesce. A programme and accompanying budget was rapidly put together, approved, and funding began to flow in time for the first projected seminar in Vilnius in 1991. Over time, the US initiative succeeded in stimulating other Alliance parliaments to sponsor Rose-Roth seminars or to contribute financing. Today, the Assembly continues to provide funding to partners who require help, with the generous assistance of the Swiss government via the Geneva based Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and also the Norwegian Parliament. It has also generated

US Congressman, Charlie Rose.

US Senator, Bill Roth.

The two co-founders of the Rose-Roth Initiative.

co-operation with other organizations such as the George C. Marshall Centre for Security Studies in Garmisch (Germany) which for several years co-hosted a summer school for parliamentarians, and Wilton Park in the United Kingdom which likewise for a certain period facilitated the participation of parliamentary staff at their conferences.

Rose-Roth became a familiar name in transition countries and in the early years the demand to host seminars threatened to outrun the Assembly's capacity to organize them. To date, over 60 have taken place, and they are now held at a more manageable three to four a year.

A relatively modest contribution in the overall effort that went into helping the transitional process throughout CEE, the significance of the Rose-Roth initiative lay in the fact that it provided early and tangible proof of Alliance interest and solidarity. Beyond that, it allowed the NATO PA members to better comprehend the national and regional problems facing new partners, and the hosts to be exposed to international perspectives. Above all it provided invaluable international experience and exposure for new parliamentarians and an opportunity to learn from NATO PA members. In this respect one theme of particular, and enduring relevance was the need to put in place the elements needed for the democratic control of armed forces, including the effective involvement of parliament.

As enlargement has proceeded and NATO's borders have moved outwards, the initiative has found new terrain and relevance. While the new partners are, in many cases, different from the original beneficiaries, what the programme offers remains the same – an opportunity to learn about democracy, to benefit from the experience of Alliance parliamentarians, to understand what role parliaments should play in the defence of their societies, to gain the necessary information to play such a role and to grow closer to an organization of like-minded countries and parliaments.

Chapter 4 The Enlargement of the Alliance

The accession ceremony
for the seven new NATO members,
Washington D.C. (USA),
March 2004.

Peter Sardi
Head of the Office
for Foreign Relations
of the Hungarian
National Assembly.

Hungary's foreign policy following the change of regime became the focus of the freely elected Hungarian Parliament and was shaped through the co-operation of political parties. The country's security needs and the responses to them were more or less identically assessed by the parliamentary parties and governments with different political commitments that followed each other. The players in the political scene soon realised that they had to assume common responsibility for guaranteeing the security of the country. "That was the only way to create the internal conditions of becoming a fully-fledged member of NATO as a result of a decade of common thinking and action"[1].

It was the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) that took the initiative in establishing relations with Hungary by allowing legislators from Central and East European countries to participate in its various forums, to report on their countries' specific problems, and to discuss their different national and regional perspectives regarding common security challenges. The key function of the NAA was, and remains, to develop consensus by providing a forum for the parliamentarians of the member states, and now the partners, to share views and experiences. This process has frequently furthered the development of relations between the member states and helped to settle disagreements.

The relations between Hungary and the Assembly go back to 1986, when Senator Charles McC. Mathias, then President of the NAA, wrote to the Speaker of the Parliament proposing to establish relations.

In 1988, a delegation of the Assembly, led by the its president, Ton Frinking, visited Central and Eastern Europe, and more specifically Hungary, for the first time. Following this visit, Gyula Horn, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attended the

1. Zoltan Rockenbauer: In: *Hungary, a NATO-Member,* Edited by Rudolf Joo, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary. 1999 p 56
Also: Gyorgy Rabai: *The NATO Parliamentary Assembly;* NATO Information Office, Hungarian Parliament. Budapest, 1999 pp 33-35.

Hamburg session of the North Atlantic Assembly and made what was a historic presentation to the Assembly's Political Committee entitled "Building Security and Co-operation in Europe".

In the period following 1989, as the first democratically elected parliaments were formed, the Assembly began to establish even closer relations with Central and East European countries. The Assembly set up a sub-committee to deal with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which visited the countries of our region. The officials and MPs of Central and East European countries attended the various meetings of the Assembly.

The Warsaw Pact begins to unravel. Visit of the Political Committee to Hungary, January 1990.

Motivated by the dramatic change in orientation, the Hungarian Government began to make contact with NATO itself. Despite the fact that none of the members of the Antall Government, formed after the first free elections in 1990, saw any possibility of Hungary joining NATO within a short time, Hungary led the way in making every effort to establish official relations with the organisation. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall was the first Head of Government of the Central and East European countries to pay a visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

As these measures demonstrated, the Antall government regarded NATO as the most important organisation that guaranteed the security of Europe – a conviction which was shared by the general public. The highly uncertain international situation made it imperative for us to extend the security umbrella of NATO over our region. The entire history of the Alliance had proved that with its doctrine of collective defence and unique military capacities it was able to take action with efficiency unrivalled by any other international organisation to combat aggressive actions against the member states.

It was, therefore, a significant event when a delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly led by Bruce George, Chairman of the Political Committee, paid a visit to Hungary from 16 to 19 January 1990[2].

Relations were put into a more official form when, during the 36th annual session held in London from 25 to 30 November 1990, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were given "associate delegation" status. This status allowed the legislators

2. The members of the delegation were Jan Petersen (Norway), Zeki Yavuztürk (Turkey), Dogancan Akyurek (Turkey), Ton Frinking (Netherlands), Loïc Bouvard (France), Pelle Voigt (Denmark), Alfred Biehle (Federal Republic of Germany), Lothar Ibrügger (Federal Republic of Germany), Guy-Michel Chauveau (France), Bill Rompkey (Canada) and Erdogan Yetenc (Turkey).

of the new democracies to actively take part in almost all the activities of the Assembly, to fulfil tasks in Assembly bodies, to submit proposed amendments to the text of reports, and to introduce draft resolutions. The institutionalised relation between the Hungarian Parliament and the North Atlantic Assembly was based on the NAA's Resolution 224 adopted in London, and later officially approved by the Parliament. The session in London was of paramount importance because it was the first time that a delegation of the Parliament – in this case led by Deputy Speaker of Parliament Alajos Dornbach – had participated in the work of the five committees and the plenary session as an invited party with the right of consultation.

The Assembly initiated other forms of activity in connection with the countries in our region. As part of the Initiative created by Representative Charlie Rose (US) and Senator Bill Roth (US), significant funds provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other member parliaments were concentrated on furthering the development of parliamentary democracy. The prime aim of the Rose-Roth Initiative was to make it easier for the legislators from Central and East European countries to participate in all the activities of the Assembly. Special seminars and conferences were organised on subjects of key importance for countries going through transformations such as the democratic control of armed forces, or regional security.

A further source of experience was provided by employing research assistants from our countries at the International Secretariat for short periods (3-6 months) for carrying out research. The first such stagiaire was a Hungarian, Istvan Zalatnay. Additionally, the Secretariat organised further training courses to allow the staff of Central and East European parliaments to gain insights into the work processes applied at international organisations.

From 1991 the Hungarian delegation regularly took part in the work of the two annual regular sessions and the seminars held under the Rose-Roth Initiative, and entertained visits by Assembly groups and officials.

In the meantime, Hungary existed in an extremely volatile political environment. On one hand, the principle of "national consensus" in the decision-making process of foreign policy became generally accepted in internal affairs. This meant that the opposition did not openly contest the Government's foreign and security policy activities. On the other hand, as a result of the agreement between the political parties, the Government had to undertake to consult with the opposition regarding its significant foreign policy actions. In the Parliament the system of "six party consultations" evolved as a vehicle for harmonising foreign policy.

In order to strengthen the national basis for Hungary's security orientation, the Government made an effort to more effectively utilise the research of Hungarian security policy workshops and conclusions drawn at international conferences, and urged the more frequent holding of discussions amongst international relations professionals.

There were sections of public opinion which remained unconvinced of the virtue of leaving one bloc to join another, and looked to "neutrality" for Hungary's position.

In 1993, Tamas Wachsler was given a Special Rapporteur's mandate in the Defence and Security Committee in the Assembly. At the autumn session in 1993 in Copenhagen, as a member of the Hungarian delegation, in common with American and Dutch co-authors, Tamas Wachsler submitted a draft resolution proposing the enlargement of NATO, which was adopted by the plenary session. For Hungary this was a highly significant event, not only in itself, but also because it was the first time that a member of an associate delegation introduced a proposed resolution.

In those days many politicians still considered it too early to initiate Hungary's membership in NATO. For instance, in 1992, the government dismissed in the Parliament MP Gyula Horn's individual motion "on tabling a proposal on the membership of the Republic of Hungary in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)".[3] This position was maintained until 1993.

3. Janos Gombos: *Hungary and NATO*. STAR PR-Ugynokseg, Budapest, 1997 p14.

On 10-11 January 1994, at the NATO Summit in Brussels, the Allies announced the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Programme, thereby causing considerable disappointment among would-be members who saw this as postponing NATO enlargement. Nevertheless, in February 1994 Hungary signed the so-called Framework Document and in June of the same year submitted the Presentation Document. After that, the form, content and extent of the actual co-operation was recorded in the Individual Partnership Programme set forth after consultations with NATO. This was a great leap forward in the history of Hungary's Euro-Atlantic accession; although it did not yet mean NATO membership, it later proved to be a major step towards it.

After the general parliamentary elections in 1994 in Hungary, the MSZP-SZDSZ (Hungarian Socialist Party-Alliance of Free Democrats) coalition Government in theory accepted the key priorities of the former MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum)-led Government, when it underlined that "The Government is making an effort to ensure Hungary's close connection with developed countries, integration into the Euro-Atlantic organisations; to create good neighbourly relations with the states of our region; and to support Hungarian minorities abroad having their rights acknowledged, guaranteed and enforced in practice pursuant to international documents and norms".[4] In this new parliamentary cycle, the Hungarian delegation to the Assembly was led by Jeno Racskay (SZDSZ).

4. ibid. p16.

In November 1994 at the Assembly's annual session in Washington, a working group dealing with the enlargement of NATO was set up, with Co-rapporteurs Karsten Voigt (the President of the North Atlantic Assembly) and Tamas Wachsler, who thus became the first committee official from a non-NATO member state. By doing this, the Assembly took the

Another Hungarian first, the Spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly held outside the NATO member states for the first time, in the Hungarian Parliament, Budapest, May 1995.

lead in making an effort to enlarge NATO as soon as possible. Another important event of the same year was that the Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament wrote a letter to the Assembly requesting Hungary's fully-fledged membership of the Assembly.

Hungary consistently looked for every opportunity to advance its claim for membership, realising that the best way to do this was by acting as if it were already a member. Thus, the government made available to NATO a logistics base at Tazar to assist NATO operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, at the parliamentary level, unable to contribute to the Assembly's regular budget, the Hungarian parliament made a voluntary contribution to the Rose-Roth fund.

Hungary also volunteered to host a full Assembly session. Hence, in May 1995, the spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly was – for the first time – held outside the NATO member states, in this case in Budapest. This event offered an especially favourable opportunity for Hungarian parliamentarians and the public to be informed about NATO, and to make Hungary's security policy objectives and concepts known to the representatives of NATO member states.[5] Also, at this spring session, the idea to create a NATO Information Office in the spirit of the co-operation between the organisation and the Parliament's Office for Foreign Relations was proposed. This was established as the first such

5. Zoltan Rockenbauer: *The Hungarian Parliament and the Euro-Atlantic integration.* In: *Hungary, a NATO-Member*; Edited by Rudolf Joo, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary. 1999 p 60
Also: Gyorgy Rabai: *The NATO Parliamentary Assembly;* NATO Information Office, Office for Foreign Relations, Hungarian Parliament. Budapest, 1999 p 27.

office in the associated member states, and has served to provide MPs with security policy information ever since.

After that, in October, in his Special Report, Tamas Wachsler proposed that Hungary should be granted membership with full voting rights.

In spite of the fact that its resolutions and political recommendations are not binding, the Assembly has taken the lead in shaping governments' way of thinking. By being the first to establish formal relations with Central and East European countries – in 1990, surpassing NATO itself – the Assembly played an outstanding role in allowing discussion and research on any subject without restriction. The involvement of the associate delegations made the organisation more open. The main efforts of the Hungarian Parliament focussed on increasingly active participation in the work of the Assembly, and the attainment of fully-fledged membership as soon as possible, as this was an important link in Hungary's integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. In 1995, NATO itself prepared its Enlargement Study; the implementation of which paved the way for the beginning of a new era.

* * *

Longin Pastusiak
Marshall of the Senate. Head of the Polish Delegation. Former Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

As I am writing these words in the autumn of 2004, for a publication to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, I would like to venture a brief look back. For a politician, who usually looks into the future, this is a pause in his mission; for a political scientist like myself, this is also an opportunity to attempt a synthesis of events; and for a man – an often moving recollection of the people met, places, and events that attracted our attention. To the Polish parliamentary delegation and to myself, the fifty years of the NATO PA translate into more than fifteen years since the first contact was made and co-operation started. Ten years of efforts to join the North Atlantic Alliance and five years of coexistence in the NATO family. The fourteen years of my presence in the Assembly have also led to personal friendships, which continue to this day, and which I think will continue in the future.

I would like to review the history of contacts and co-operation between the Polish parliamentarians and our colleagues and friends from the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) which later became the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. This will not be a politician's or scientist's view, but, first of all, an opportunity to share personal memories and reflections.

The North Atlantic Assembly was one of the first western organisations to enter into co-operation with Central Europe in the period of transition. In 1989, the Political Committee established the Sub-Committee on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Sub-Committee made study visits to Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Soon afterwards representatives of the parliaments of Central European states were invited to participate in committee sittings and conferences.

The Assembly's contacts with Poland started with a visit by representatives of the Assembly to Warsaw and Szczecin from 2 to 6 May 1989. It had been planned since May 1988. Earlier, NATO deputies paid visits to Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

A group of 16 NATO parliamentarians came to Poland. They included the then President of the Assembly, Patrick Duffy (UK); the Chairman of the Political Committee, Bruce George (UK); the Rapporteur of the Committee, Jan Petersen (Norway); as well as Loïc Bouvard and Jean-Michel Boucheron from France; Klaus Francke from Germany; and deputies from Spain, Turkey, and Italy. The group was accompanied by the Secretary General of the Assembly, Peter Corterier, and the Director of the Political Committee, John Borawski.

In Poland, these were the times of a breakthrough – for the first time ever the communist authorities reached an agreement with the opposition. The Round Table talks had just ended, becoming a model for a dialogue between the opposition and the government in

other communist countries. The Constitution was amended. Preliminary work was undertaken to prepare a new Constitution. Work was in progress on electoral law to be enacted prior to the elections for the Sejm – free to some extent – and the elections for the newly established Senate, both scheduled for June.

The visiting deputies met the key figures in the political establishment, including the Marshal of the Sejm and the Prime Minister, the Chief of Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, as well as the Primate of Poland and, outside the official agenda, the representatives of the opposition. The talks concerned the elimination of the confrontation-based division of Europe, and a diminishing sense of threat from the East ensuing from the changes taking place there. The issues discussed included disarmament, reduction of the Warsaw Pact forces, the prospects for development of co-operation within the CSCE, and the future of Poland's relations with the West. The talks relating to the economy were important. The following issues were on the agenda: high inflation; growing awareness of the need for a shift towards a free market economy and for stimulating the economic relations with the West; and hopes for economic assistance during the transformation period and for the reduction of the foreign debt. The direction of changes was known, but the method of reaching the target and the scale of the challenges involved were not – to either of the parties.

There was talk about progress in democratisation. Openness and readiness for an East-West dialogue and the desire for peaceful coexistence were praised. The establishment of an NAA counterpart in the Warsaw Pact states was considered (at that time few were thinking of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact). Bruce George stressed in a press interview how much he and the other participants had been impressed with the talks in Warsaw. He spoke about the seriousness of the economic situation and admired the efforts made to overcome the difficulties. The deputies were aware that their visit to Poland took place at a time of exceptional importance in the continent's history, that is before the first election in which the voters had a say, to be held in this part of Europe in years.

That visit seems to have been a very important one. The members of the Assembly had an opportunity to witness the democratic revolution in progress, to take a snapshot of the state of affairs, the opening moment. The knowledge gained during the Warsaw meetings was necessarily complemented with uncertainty and anxiety about the future of Europe's security. Yet at the same time the hope of civil society emerging in Poland made it possible to see, if not the destination of the journey, then at least its starting point.

The representatives of the Sub-Committee invited a delegation of both houses of the future Parliament to a sitting of the NAA Political Committee to be held in Rome in the autumn (35th annual session of the Assembly).

The October 1989 meeting in Rome was attended by the representatives of the new Sejm and the Senate, appointed by election pursuant to the Round Table agreements. The

Government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first non-communist Prime Minister, took office. Leszek Balcerowicz was getting ready to present the plan of economic reforms, which were to change the picture of Poland and its citizens' way of living by adopting the principles of market economy. The deputies were becoming acquainted with the Sejm: both the members of the Solidarity movement and those people who had formerly been in power were learning the rules of parliamentary democracy. The history of a renewed Senate started.

Representatives of the Sejm, Deputies Krzysztof Komornicki and Jan Rokita presented to the members of the North Atlantic Assembly the substance of the processes taking place in Poland and the ways of counteracting threats to the success of the reforms, with the support of the international community. While they only had observer status, they actively participated in the drawing up of the resolution on supporting, providing assistance to, and managing the transition process in Europe (Resolution 208). The resolution expressed approval and support for democratic processes in Poland and in Hungary. The governments of the NATO states were encouraged to take immediate measures to sign an agreement between Poland and the International Monetary Fund in order to provide economic support and resolve the issue of the debt to the Paris Club, and prepare a training programme for managers, engineers, and scientists. These and other measures were found necessary to facilitate the institutionalisation of democracy, economic pluralism and respect for human rights in Poland, Hungary and in other Central European countries. The resolution also provided that the North Atlantic Assembly would be a place of contact between the NATO states and the Warsaw Pact states, a platform to exchange experiences and ideas concerning the role of the legislative power in defining and monitoring internal and foreign policies.

In October 1990, the President of the Assembly, British MP, Patrick Duffy, visited Poland again. The discussions focussed on security and stability in Europe in the face of the changes that had taken place in Central and Eastern Europe, particularly in the Soviet Union. The leading role of NATO and the Assembly was emphasised as a stability factor in Europe. The guests invited Poland to co-operate, offering the Sejm delegation the role of observer in the Assembly. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, was invited to speak at the coming session.

During the 36th annual session in London (November 1990), the Polish delegation headed by Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz, and the delegations from Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, and the USSR were granted the associate delegation status, which enabled the participants to freely participate in the debates. This important step in co-operation between the Assembly and the Central European states was interpreted as recognition by the Western parliamentarians of the importance and irreversibility of changes in our part of the continent.

Possible turns of events were discussed in the face of the forthcoming dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Questions were asked about the future of the USSR military potential. Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who took part in the session as the first minister from the Central European states, spoke about eliminating ideological factors in relations between the states of North America and Europe, and emphasized the need to jointly develop a security system equal for all. He expressed the view that NATO would not remain neutral if the security in any part of Europe were endangered or violated, and indicated that the USSR's anxiety or suspicion should not be awoken in any way.

Upon completion of the session, a Euro-Atlantic Round Table Conference was held, dealing with the aspirations of the Central and East European States and the North Atlantic Assembly's involvement in their fulfilment. The participants spoke about the new democracies' attitude to NATO and the role that the Alliance had to play. Much attention was given to the threats to European stability: independence aspirations, ethnic conflicts, nationalism, the economic situation which gave rise to social unrest in some countries.

A further Euro-Atlantic Round Table Conference was held in February 1991 in Berlin. It focussed on the security of Europe, arms control, and reduction of military budgets.

In the course of the discussion, the representatives of Poland and Romania stressed the need to expand the NATO zone eastwards, to the USSR borders. Security guarantees were sought in the transition period. The Russian delegation suggested the necessity to dissolve NATO, and justified this step on the grounds of the imminent dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. The disintegration of the Warsaw Pact created the danger of a security vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary was in progress, but negotiations with Poland continued. There was even talk of final withdrawal in 1996. (Eventually, the Soviet troops left the territory of Poland in September 1993.) The other major problems of those days included ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, the imminent break-up of the USSR, and problems around the CFE Treaty. The process of profound reconstruction of the European security architecture was initiated.

An equally intensive process of economic transformation continued in Poland. The NATO parliamentarians were briefed on its progress during their successive visits to Poland. In February 1991, representatives of the Economic Committee visited Warsaw, and in April the Sub-Committee on the Future of the Armed Forces paid a visit to the capital of Poland.

The discussions concerned the reduction of the Polish army, the imposition of civilian control over the military; projects to introduce professional armed forces, the disposition of troops in the country; and the creation of a defence doctrine that provided for Poland's sovereignty and was based on the country's own defence potential. Accession to the Alliance and extension of NATO were not mentioned. More attention was then paid to the desire to

join the European Communities, but neither a detailed plan nor the scale of the required effort were known at the time. The Sejm and the Polish government were focussed on economic issues, including the threat of hidden unemployment, ongoing negotiations on the reduction of foreign debt, and well-targeted economic aid. During the meetings, it was pointed out that the western partners did not always understand the profoundness of changes in Poland or the nature of the reforms.

Systemic changes were initiated, including the reform of the armed forces. A large, high-cost and low-mobility army, which had been modelled on the Warsaw Pact armies, failed to meet the needs of the new reality. This was certain, but not much more.

With some difficulty, decisions were made to reduce the army: first to 300,000, then to 250,000, and finally to the current level of 150,000 soldiers. The process took many years not only because it was socially difficult or costly for the state budget. Studies, discussions, governmental projects and parliamentary debates were undertaken on the future shape of the Polish army. The projects were prepared and adjusted as political decisions emerged concerning Poland's new place in a geostrategically changed Europe.

The author on a military aircraft during a visit to Afghanistan, March 2005.

In order to determine closer co-operation between the Central European states and the North Atlantic Assembly, Congressman Charlie Rose (President of the Assembly 1990-1992) and Senator William V. Roth Jr. (President of the Assembly 1996-1998) created an initiative to organise and finance seminars for parliamentarians, aimed to support the development of parliamentary democracy. From the Polish point of view, these meetings – which focussed largely on the rules needed for civilian and democratic control over the armed forces, military budgeting, and co-operation among the parliament, the government and representatives of the armed forces – proved extremely valuable. Issues of practical significance were also taken up: building an efficient and modern parliamentary administration, and training sessions for parliamentary administration personnel.

The Assembly parliamentarians were willing to share their experience with new colleagues. They also discovered it was worth listening to what the new partners had to say.

They understood that the multi-dimensional transformation that was carried out in Central Europe was unprecedented. Poland and the neighbouring countries were like living organisms, undergoing an operation which nobody had ever experienced, or at least survived to confirm its success.

When I think of the first years of Poland's contacts with the Assembly, two – entirely different – matters seem important: Poland's path to reach the decision to seek NATO membership, and my personal experience of the meetings with the Assembly and participation in its proceedings.

Initially few people in Poland were thinking about NATO membership. The concepts proposed in various forums, i.e. declaration of military independence, creation of a security area in Central Europe, or even the idea of declaring neutrality, did not seem unusual at the time.

The year 1991 proved to be a breakthrough year for the future shape of Europe. It witnessed the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the collapse of the USSR, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Yanayev putsch (the failed attempt to oust Gorbachev), the collapse of Yugoslavia and the failure of the first peace missions there, and the serious military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instability in the east and south of Europe gave rise to concern in Poland, which the joy of regained freedom or the challenges of economic transformation could not dispel.

Poland started to actively seek its place in Europe, a guarantee of sustainable and secure existence for a nearly 40 million-strong nation in the heart of the Continent. Diplomatic relations were established and agreements made on friendly co-operation with the neighbours. It is perhaps interesting to note that before 1989, Poland had land borders with three states. None of those states exists today, and our country now has seven new neighbours.

Polish politicians came to the conclusion that strong and sustainable integration with the Euro-Atlantic organisations would be the best guarantee of the country's freedom. This quest was an expression of the desire of a vast majority of Poles and it was reflected in the political positions adopted by nearly all parliamentary groups. Integration with the West, or, in other words, return to political Europe, became a strategic objective of our diplomacy.

There was no single concept in Europe which could define what shape the continent should be given after the peoples of the "Eastern bloc" themselves took the road to freedom and abolished the symbol of the continent's division – the Berlin Wall – to let the dream of European unity come true.

The European nations reached out to each other with hope, though initially with caution and disbelief. Political Europe followed suit. The activities of European organisations and their parliamentary assemblies played a significant part in this coming together. The Council of Europe created appropriate standards for the protection of human rights. The

OSCE was set up with a view to establishing a security area from Lisbon to Vladivostok. The WEU increased its involvement in the issues of common European defence. The prospect of economic integration was also promising – the European Economic Community's successes were visible to everyone. Democratic Europe offered plenty of opportunities. Dialogue and learning were now necessary – for both sides.

In this context, the North Atlantic Assembly played a most important role. The Assembly was of the opinion that any new arrangements concerning security should be based on dialogue and co-operation, and not on confrontation. It was one of the first organizations in the West to enter into co-operation with Central and Eastern Europe, and it did not waste the opportunity to fill the newly arisen security vacuum with a spirit of friendship and agreement.

The Assembly's forum was open to the opinions of Central Europe's representatives. Accounts of economic and political changes were listened to attentively, experience in the transformation of the army was shared, and the new structure of European security and the threats to stability on the continent were jointly discussed.

From the beginning, Poland voiced loud concerns about guarantees of its security. I had an opportunity to touch upon this issue at the very first session in which I participated (held in Banff, Canada, in May 1992). At that session, the Polish delegation (in consultation with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Hungarian delegations) stressed NATO's role as the sole guarantor of peace, and noted the need for co-operation between the Alliance and the three Visegrad states. We proposed that in the event of threat to Central Europe the NATO states might consider the possibility of assisting the region despite a lack of formal grounds for such an action. Thus the issue of extension of NATO entered the Assembly's agenda.

During the autumn session in Bruges (November 1992), I presented the Polish security policy principles, and pointed out that membership in the European Communities was of key importance to my country and that obtaining NATO and WEU membership in the 1990s was a strategic objective. At that time it seemed to us that Poland's path to NATO would be longer and more difficult in political terms than the economic integration. At the successive sessions we regularly delivered reports on Poland's efforts towards NATO membership. Careful evaluation and friendly criticism of the measures undertaken, numerous visits to Poland by representatives of the Alliance and the Assembly, were part of the extensive efforts leading to the common goal – the extension of the Alliance by including the Central European states.

In 1995, as head of the delegation of the Sejm and the Senate to the North Atlantic Assembly, I invited the Assembly to hold a spring session in Warsaw in 1999. At the time I did not know if Poland would be a NATO member in 1999, but I expected that the

Alliance might want to make a birthday present to itself and to others on its 50th anniversary by admitting new member states.

Time has shown that while we were not mistaken in defining a timeframe for accession to NATO, we had to engage in an intensive political dialogue and spare no efforts to transform our armed forces. However, we were not aware at the time that adjusting the economy and legislation to the high requirements of the Communities and later the European Union would be an even more complex process.

At this point I would like to share my reflections on work in the Assembly.

One of the major values the Assembly passes to its members is the opportunity to gain political experience in an international forum. It is done through sub-committee visits; working group meetings; talks with representatives of governments and international organisations; submitting reports; participation in the debates; working on draft resolutions; exchange of ideas; consultations and co-operation with colleagues from other parliaments; and discussion on and elaboration of joint positions within the framework of the national delegation. All this is an excellent school of political activity in the best meaning of the term.

We sought to convey this political culture and experience to our colleagues in the country. The achievements and activities of the Assembly were presented by the NATO and NATO PA Information Centre, established at the Sejm Library in Warsaw, and the bulletin Bliżej NATO (Closer to NATO), published by the Chancellery of the Sejm in the pre-accession period.

The author and Canadian Foreign Minister John Manley (left) during a visit of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations to Ottawa, June 2001.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly is a unique political body. One could say that it is a family of values. Its members rely, in their actions and judgements, on the belief in the fundamental meaning of the four values that underlie the North Atlantic Alliance: freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, and market economy. To guarantee these liberties is a goal for anyone serving under a mandate from voters. Perhaps this is why the Assembly's political initiatives inspired and preceded the actions of the national governments. The disputes or debates within the Assembly focussed on how to guarantee these values in the North Atlantic area rather than on whether and to what extent they should be applied. This

was the first impression my fellow parliamentarians and myself had when Poland joined the Assembly family as an associate member. I still have this impression after nearly fifteen years' work in the Assembly, being the head of the Polish delegation for a great part of the time and a Vice-President of the Assembly for two terms of office.

There is a highly significant human dimension to the activity in the NATO PA – the acquaintances and friendships struck up here are lasting and sincere. It seems this is not only due to the traits of the members of the Assembly, but also to the efforts of the Secretariat staff whose professionalism, dedication, and enthusiasm ensure not only fantastic working conditions, but also an atmosphere of friendship and kindness. I would not hesitate to say that the staff of the International Secretariat are one of the strongest assets of the Assembly.

The reform of the armed forces, a new security architecture, the future of trans-Atlantic relations, regional security, civilian and democratic control over the armed forces, civil dimension of security, new technologies, and the ability of the economy to generate them – some of the subjects discussed in the Assembly during the first years of Poland's contacts with this body are still alive. The changing security situation calls for new answers to the same questions. The circle of those involved in the debate has expanded: the NATO family has increased. Even though this has meant a decrease in the number of associate members, interest in the Alliance, in belonging to an area of stability and security, and in the rules of parliamentary democracy is by no means decreasing.

* * *

Ceslovas Stankevicius
Ambassador of Lithuania to Norway. Former Head of the Lithuanian Delegation.

In 1991 the author of this article was delegated by the Parliament of Lithuania to lead the Lithuanian delegation for negotiations with Russia. At the same time he was also designated as head of the first associate delegation of the Lithuanian parliament to the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA). This article, therefore, provides a personal overview of the participation of the Lithuanian delegation in the work of the Assembly from December 1991 till late autumn 1992.

It is important to recall the situation of Lithuania during that period and its principal goal. On 11 February 1991, the Republic of Iceland was the first country to officially recognise the independence of Lithuania, restored on 11 March 1990. The Russian Federation recognised the independent Lithuanian state by the Treaty of 29 July 1991. By this Treaty both parties also recognised the necessity to remove the consequences of the occupation of Lithuania. Finally, in the autumn of 1991 Lithuania received universal diplomatic recognition.

However, there was still a considerable contingent of the Soviet occupying forces deployed in the country. The garrisons of these forces posed a real threat to the security of the restored state and its population. The Lithuanian armed forces were still in their initial stages and were instructed to avoid armed conflicts with the occupying troops. For their part, the Soviet military sensed the approach of their withdrawal from Lithuania. They demonstrated wilful behaviour, violated the law, destroyed property and devastated the environment. Rapid, orderly and full withdrawal of the occupying troops from Lithuania was, therefore, the most important task and the challenge of the time.

The success of this task depended on the constant and effective support of NATO members and other western countries. The Lithuanian leadership understood how important it was to ensure that the NAA understanding of the issues clearly related to the unlawful presence of the occupying forces on the territory of Lithuania and the territories of other Baltic states. A well-informed NAA could effectively induce Russia to fulfil its international obligation, inherited from the former USSR, to withdraw the occupying forces from the Baltic states without delay.

Thus, the invitation for the associate parliamentary delegations of Lithuania and of the other two Baltic states to participate in the work of the Assembly in 1991 was very timely.

In the spring of 1991 the NAA President Charlie Rose together with the US Senator Bill Roth proposed a wonderful Assembly initiative which would put the issues of security and stability in Central and Eastern Europe resulting from the collapse of the Iron Curtain on the NAA agenda and help CEE countries in solving them. The Rose-Roth initiative was far-reaching and contained several goals which were of immediate relevance to Baltic security, namely: to facilitate the integration of Baltic states' parliamentarians in the work of the Assembly; to maintain a Baltic-Russian dialogue within the transatlantic framework; to hold regular special seminars on the issues of security and stability of the region; and to help the parliamentary staff of the Baltic and CEE countries to gain experience of inter-parliamentary work.

A brief look at the participation of the Lithuanian associate delegation in Rose-Roth seminars and in the NAA sessions in the year following the Vilnius seminar from 16 to 18 December 1991 gives an indication of the significance of this initiative.

Vilnius

The fact that the first Rose-Roth seminar "The Baltic states Security Requirements" was held in Vilnius, which lay outside the NATO member states, made it a historic event. In its presentation to the seminar the Lithuanian delegation emphasised the need for good-neighbourly relations. The foundations for these were laid by the Treaty, signed by Vytautas Landsbergis and Boris Yeltsin on 29 July 1991. In the spirit of the Treaty, the Lithuanian delegation demanded that the withdrawal of the occupying forces begin immediately and be completed by the end of 1992. The Lithuanian delegation also proposed that NATO countries

Participants in the first Rose-Roth seminar visiting a Russian military base outside Vilnius and opened to Westerners for the first time, December 1991.

should give the Russian government all possible assistance to facilitate the withdrawal. In its statement the Lithuanian delegation expressed a clear orientation of Lithuania towards NATO as a security guarantor: "It is necessary for Lithuania to co-operate with NATO in order to achieve the guarantees of political security." Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Sergei Stepashin, participated in the discussion, as did Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov, Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces in the Baltic states. Like the other high-ranking Soviet officers who were present at the seminar, his attitude was far from favourable towards both the event itself and the demand for quick troop withdrawal.

This Rose-Roth seminar was the first international parliamentary event where parliamentarians of NATO countries discussed the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic region together with their Baltic and Russian counterparts. Furthermore, a key advantage of the Rose-Roth seminars was that not only members of parliament were invited, but also experts and representatives of other international organisations.

The issue under discussion was not whether, but when and how, Russia was to fulfil this duty. From then on the NAA made the dialogue between the Baltic states and Russia part of its agenda thus giving it the weight of the authority of the transatlantic community. The international dialogue that began at the Vilnius seminar continued until the full withdrawal of the occupying troops from Lithuania in 1993, and from Latvia and Estonia in 1994.

Brussels

From 12 to 14 February 1992 the Lithuanian associate delegation participated in a special NAA interparliamentary conference in Brussels "European Security and the CSCE", the topic of which was of particular importance to Lithuania. As the Baltic states and Russia were equal CSCE members since 1991, Lithuania sought through the Helsinki process to give an impulse to the issue of the stalled troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. At the Brussels conference the Lithuanian delegation also raised the idea of setting up a monitoring mission in Lithuania for the period of the troop withdrawal comprised of the representatives of the western states.

Riga

On 27 April 1992, the second Rose-Roth seminar was held in Riga on the same theme. The withdrawal of Russian troops was still the main topic. Before the seminar only Lithuania had reached agreement with Russia at the political level[6] that the withdrawal should begin in February 1992. The seminar participants agreed that all the contentious questions should be solved through negotiations, and recommended that Russia and the Baltic states avoid any actions that could lead to dangerous confrontations between the national and the occupying troops.

6. By the protocol signed by the Head of the Lithuanian Delegation, Ceslovas Stankevicius, and the Head of the Russian Delegation, Sergei Shakhrai, on 31 January 1992 in Vilnius, Russia obligated itself to start the troop withdrawal from Lithuania in February 1992.

Banff

During the NAA spring session, held from 14 to 18 May 1992 in Banff, Canada, the NAA President Charlie Rose stressed the significance of the Vilnius and Riga seminars. He said, "These seminars focussed on a regional problem of some urgency. They drew together the various interested parties, including the local Russian military who are the source of the problem." The President expressed satisfaction that the dialogue between the representatives of the Baltic states and Russia was continuing at the Banff session. The head of the Lithuanian delegation, speaking for all three Baltic states, pointed to the threat that the prolonged presence of the occupying troops on the territories of the Baltic states would pose to democratic development, security and stability in the Baltic region and across Europe. He also remarked that despite reaching official agreement with Russia, the real withdrawal of its forces from Lithuania had not started. Therefore, it was necessary to maintain international political pressure and to encourage Russia to fulfil its obligation.

The NAA session at Banff was held on the eve of the CSCE (later OSCE) Helsinki Summit. The heads of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian delegations therefore released a joint statement to the Assembly asking the NAA parliamentarians to urge their governments to support the efforts of the Baltic states to include a special article to be included in the Summit Declaration on the rapid and orderly withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Former head of the Danish Delegation, Hans Haekkerup and the then President of the Assembly Karsten Voigt, both of whom were prominent in energizing support for the Baltic states in these early years.

The Assembly also agreed to hold a transatlantic dialogue on housing for the withdrawing Russian troops in Washington. It was further decided that the Assembly's Defence and Security Committee (DSC) would co-ordinate the dialogue between the parliamentarians of the NAA and Russia regarding the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Baltic states. Accordingly a co-ordinating working group comprising the DSC Chairman Karsten Voigt, and two future Defence Ministers, Danish representative, Hans Haekkerup, and Norwegian representative, Anders Sjaastad, was created. The working group proposed to organise a special seminar in Copenhagen, focussing on establishing a constructive Russian-Baltic parliamentary dialogue" and requesting in advance that Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Russia submit detailed reports on the contents and the essence of the problems to be raised during the Copenhagen seminar. This was a very good idea.

Copenhagen

The Lithuanian advance report for the Copenhagen seminar contained all the negotiations, provisions and information about all the military units to be withdrawn and their location in Lithuania. The Lithuanian delegation also submitted a detailed chronological list of the unlawful actions and incidents instigated by Russian troops in Lithuania. The delegations of the other two Baltic states also presented similar information. In the report to Copenhagen the Russian side emphasised the social problems that arose due to the troop withdrawal, and raised the alleged violations of human rights in Estonia and Latvia. Thanks to the advance statements, participants at the Copenhagen seminar were thoroughly informed about the troop situation in the Baltic states, the negotiations' provisions and the arguments of all the parties. Therefore, the Copenhagen seminar made a constructive contribution to a better understanding of the issue.

Tallinn

At the Rose-Roth seminar held from 26 to 28 October 1992 in Tallinn the Lithuanian delegation informed participants of agreements signed between Lithuania and Russia on 8 September in the Kremlin regarding troop withdrawal from Lithuania by 1 September 1993. Lithuania shared this success with the Assembly that had contributed to it but remained preoccupied with the implementation of the agreements. It was also concerned, as was the entire Assembly, that Latvia and Estonia should reach as soon as possible similar agreements with Russia; and that Russia should withdraw from the entire Baltic region by the shortest deadline possible.

Bruges

Participation in the Bruges annual session was very significant for the Lithuanian delegation from a new perspective. For the first time the head of the Danish delegation, Hans Haekkerup, together with the head of the Lithuanian associate delegation (the author of this article), as co-Rapporteurs, presented the draft resolution "Baltic Security: New Context" to the Assembly. The resolution adopted by the Assembly noted the obligation undertaken by Russia at the CSCE Helsinki Conference regarding the orderly and complete withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic states. It emphasised that the fulfilment of the obligation could not be associated with any other issues and expressed regret that Latvia and Estonia had not yet reached agreements with Russia. The Assembly urged the parliaments and governments of the members of the North Atlantic Alliance to give serious consideration to setting up a group to monitor the troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. As a gesture of goodwill to the demands of the Russian delegation, paragraph 13 of the Assembly's Resolution urged

the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to show more goodwill and to respect minority rights. The author recalls to this day how long it took him and the Danish co-Rapporteur to privately discuss the paragraph with the representative of the Russian delegation on the eve of the Assembly sitting.

During the debates regarding the withdrawal of troops the Russian representatives emphasised that Russia could not commit itself to a quick troop withdrawal because there was no accommodation for the officers' families upon their return to Russia. The Assembly took this argument seriously and understood that it was necessary to help Yeltsin's government to alleviate the problem. The Assembly, and its President Charlie Rose personally, oversaw the drafting, financing and implementation of a special international housing programme for the resettlement of officers in Russia.

On 16 and 17 September 1992 the Assembly together with the German Marshall Fund co-sponsored a conference "A Trans-Atlantic Dialogue on Housing". At the conference the main speaker was the NAA President Charlie Rose.

In April 1992, during a seminar in Riga the Danish delegation had presented a draft of the Danish programme of assistance for the housing of Russian officers. A US assistance programme for housing was also prepared, the funding of which was approved by the US Congress. Nevertheless, the Assembly always stressed that the housing programmes could not be used as a precondition for the troop withdrawal or linked to the speed and deadlines of the withdrawal.

Looking in retrospect at the participation of the Lithuanian associate delegation in the Assembly in 1991-92, I would like to underline why it was of such significance and importance to Lithuania.

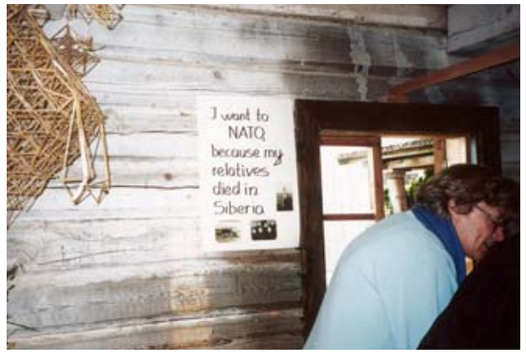
First, associate membership of the NAA allowed the Lithuanian delegation to join in the work of the Assembly, participate in the discussions, even to submit draft proposals, but not, of course, vote. Associate membership enabled the Lithuanian delegation to inform the Assembly committees about the risks and threats raised by the Soviet troops in Lithuania, to present Lithuanian negotiations provisions, and to seek the support of the Assembly in encouraging and speeding up the troop withdrawal.

Members and staff of the Lithuanian delegation also gained the experience of working in an interparliamentary assembly. The associate membership of the Assembly laid the first cornerstones of the integration of Lithuania into the community of western democracies, its preparation for full membership of the Alliance and the Assembly itself.

Second, thanks to the Rose-Roth Initiative, the dialogue between the Baltic states and Russia related to the problems involved in the troop withdrawals was elevated from the bilateral to the international level. This dialogue, which was constantly on the agenda of the Assembly, not only reduced the tension, but also encouraged Russia to adopt very early on

the necessary decisions and fulfil the international obligation that it inherited. The radical changes in the security situation of the Baltic states within a one-year period, beginning with the first Rose-Roth seminar in Vilnius, proved the success of the Rose-Roth Initiative. It was so successful that it is alive to this day, and dozens of the Rose-Roth seminars have discussed the security problems of other regions.

Third, during the one-year period reviewed in this article the necessary political decisions were adopted and the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia began. The contribution of the Assembly, its committees, and the Defence and Security Committee in particular, national delegations, and the International Secretariat of the Assembly in these achievements has been of paramount importance. The author of the article would like to note with gratitude the personal contributions of NAA President Charlie Rose, US Senator Bill Roth, Chairman of the NAA Defence and Security Committee Karsten Voigt, Head of the Danish delegation Hans Haekkerup, Head of the NAA working group Anders Sjaastad (Norway), the then Secretary General Peter Corterier (Germany) and the present Secretary General (at that time Deputy Secretary General) Simon Lunn (United Kingdom). I regret that it is impossible to name the many other participants of the process whose contributions were equally important.



A very simple message displayed during the Assembly's spring session in Vilnius, May 2001.

It is also important to note the honourable international politics of the Russian Federation under Boris Yeltsin. The Russian Federation of the time recognised the fact of occupation committed by the Soviet Union against Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia half a century earlier, maintained democratic principles in international relations, recognised the international obligation inherited from the Soviet Union to withdraw the occupying forces, and honourably fulfilled this obligation.

Ten years after the first Assembly's Rose-Roth Vilnius seminar, on 28 May 2001 the author participated as a guest in the NAA spring session held for the first time in Vilnius and the Baltic region in general. Speaking at this session, which was of historic importance to Lithuania, the Assembly President Rafael Estrella said that during its ten years of associate membership of the Assembly, Lithuania was one of the most active of all the associated members. The President also indicated that with its intensive preparations for NATO and European Union membership, Lithuania was helping the vision of "an integral and free Europe" to come true. It was heartening to hear the recognition of the activity of the Lithuanian delegation in the Assembly. However, it was difficult to agree with the other

statement pronounced by the President that "Lithuania can be and is a bridge between East and West". Like most Lithuanians, the author is convinced that Lithuania, after a half a century of forceful separation from the West, should be regarded as an equal part of the West. It is unacceptable for Lithuania to be considered only a bridge between East and West.

Having become a full member of NATO and its Parliamentary Assembly in 2004, Lithuania feels it is a responsible member of the community of western democracies. Lithuania is not only an equal and active participant in the Alliance's military peace missions including those in the Balkans and Afghanistan. It is also an active contributor to Alliance-supported security and democratic reforms and measures of implementation of democratic stability in the South Caucasus, Ukraine, Central Asia and Moldova. Now that Lithuania as a NATO member has the guarantee of security and a stable democratic development, it understands very well its duty to help others.

In the twenty-first century NATO has to respond to the new risks and challenges that pose a global threat to the democratic values defended by the Alliance. Therefore, NATO has to transform in order to remain stronger and more influential in the international arena. In the discussions about NATO's transformation, the questions of a united Europe as a stronger second pillar of the Alliance and a stronger transatlantic link are of particular importance. In these discussions, however, we also hear proposals to create structures that would duplicate those of NATO. Some emphasize the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy and the plans to create common European forces, and pay little attention to NATO and the transatlantic link. Others even tend to look for alternatives to the Alliance. It is not difficult to understand why such ideas are not popular in Lithuania and other new NATO member states. In Lithuania, as in other Central and East European countries, people understand very well the long-term significance of NATO. They know that if there were no NATO as a strong transatlantic defence alliance defending common democratic values and ensuring the security of the Alliances' member states, today there would be no united, free and secure Europe. Therefore, Lithuania, like the majority of other NATO members, regards the transatlantic link as a cornerstone for Article 5 of the Washington Treaty and the secure future of the Alliance members.

In the twenty-first century NATO was boosted with new members and new energy. This has also given the NATO Parliamentary Assembly a new strength and vitality. I am personally convinced that the Assembly's role and responsibility in mustering the common political will of the Alliance and strengthening the transatlantic link – vital to the successful solution of new challenges and the future security of the united Europe – is even greater today.

* * *

The first Rose-Roth Seminar, Vilnius, December 1991

Simon Lunn

Vilnius in December 1991 was a place of anxiety and uncertainty. Lithuania's long awaited declaration of independence from the Soviet Union had been made the previous year. However, memories of the violence and loss of life in January at the hands of Russian special forces were fresh in Lithuanian minds, as was the recently attempted coup in Moscow which, it was believed, would have had dire consequences for Baltic independence had it succeeded. These events, the uncertainty in Moscow, over the successor to the Soviet Union, and the continued presence of large numbers of Russian forces – at this stage effectively a

Sandbags in the Lithuanian parliament as a precaution against further violence, December 1991.

Soviet army without a Soviet state – gave substance to Lithuanian fears. Despite independence, Russian uniforms were still very much in evidence at the airport, albeit accompanied by somewhat nervous-looking Lithuanian customs officials whose uniforms were all-too evidently fresh off the press. The most visible sign of the prevailing concern were the sandbags surrounding the Lithuanian parliament as a precaution against further violence. Yet on the streets there was an air of quiet defiance and a calm determination that there was no going back.

It was in these tense and difficult circumstances that the newly appointed Lithuanian delegation to the NATO PA offered to host the first Rose-Roth seminar. The question by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis to the then Deputy Secretary General during an initial visit left no doubt as to Lithuania's goals. "Mr. Lunn, tell me one thing…How will your seminar help me get Russian forces out of my country?". The answer was probably unconvincing and probably will never be known. But the seminar certainly accomplished a number of significant results. A "NATO" presence of this nature conveyed a message of international concern and support to the Lithuanian people that they were not alone at this critical period. In view of their recent history a demonstration of support and solidarity from the parliamentary arm of an Alliance of collective defence had a particular resonance for all three Baltic States.

For the Russian politicians present, the seminar also underlined Alliance support for Lithuanian independence and for the demand that Russian forces be withdrawn as rapidly as possible. This support was also conveyed directly to the Russian military whose representatives attended the seminar. Initial Lithuanian objections that the participation of the Russian military could be seen as legitimising their presence in the country were offset by the argument that this was an opportunity to make them aware of the views of the international community. Withdrawal was a highly sensitive issue. Not just because, in Lithuanian eyes, Russian forces were an illegal presence and a continued threat to independence. But also because Moscow was adamant that a rapid withdrawal was impossible as there was nowhere in Russia for the forces to go.

In the event, the Commander of Russian forces in the Baltic region, General Valeriy Mironov, attended the seminar throughout, accompanied by a coterie of Russian colonels. At first, a glowering presence in the

An initially reluctant participant. General Valeriy Mironov, Commander of Soviet forces in the Baltic States (second from the left) attending the first Rose-Roth Seminar in Vilnius, December 1991.

back row, Valeriy Mironov was eventually given the floor and engaged in a series of heated exchanges with the Baltic parliamentarians present. These exchanges could hardly be described as a dialogue but were probably the first small steps on the road to the negotiations that led to the eventual departure of Russian forces in 1993.

A by-product of inviting Valeriy Mironov was that he opened the military base in Vilnius, normally firmly closed to non-Russians, to all participants. This gave participants the opportunity to witness the Russian housing problem – in the sense that they saw how poor conditions were at the base and yet these were quarters the Russian military were determined not to leave, not least because they knew the problems of re-housing in Russia. If the visitors had any doubts about the strength of feeling among Russian military personnel on this issue, these were rapidly dispelled when they encountered the Russian officers' wives. These encounters led one Western military attaché to comment that from what he had seen he was confident that NATO could have dealt with the Soviet army but he was not so sure about their wives!

Nevertheless, the Russians were left in no doubt by Assembly members that the problems of re-housing could not be used as an excuse to delay withdrawal – this had to be done as rapidly as possible.

A further accomplishment of the seminar was to persuade Baltic parliamentarians that however understandable their demand for instant withdrawal was, this would only be achieved through a process of dialogue and negotiation. Implicit in this was the suggestion that their already expressed wish to join NATO had to be accompanied by a willingness to act in a responsible fashion and take account of broader stability and security concerns.

As with future Rose-Roth Seminars, the Vilnius seminar had a number of practical spin-offs, not the least of which was the engagement of a new parliament and its staff in the organisation of an international event. This co-operation demonstrated that whatever was lacking in experience was more than compensated for by determination, initiative and sheer enthusiasm. The signs were already evident that, at least from the parliamentary dimension, integration into NATO and European structures would not be that far away.

Vilnius was the right meeting at the right moment. In President Landsbergis' words it was "the first event of this scale assisting in internationalising the problems of Baltic security". In this respect, Vilnius established a pattern of Assembly interest in Baltic Security and was quickly followed by seminars in Riga, Tallinn, Copenhagen and Warsaw. Vilnius also set the pattern for Rose-Roth seminars of focussing on specific regions of concern, a focus which continues to this day.

Ioan Mircea Pascu
Former Minister of Defence of Romania.
Former Head of the Romanian Delegation.

The relationship between my country and the NATO PA is part of the larger saga of Romania's admission into NATO, which took place at Washington, on 29 March 2004.

The expectations and hopes we all invested in the end of the Cold War were not entirely warranted. This was due primarily to the multiple and complex consequences – many not foreseen – of the de-structuring and dissolution of the international world order after the end of communism and the dismemberment of the former Soviet Union.

In reality, before beginning to reunite, the European continent – ideologically, politically and militarily divided all those Cold War years – split again in two: the disintegrating east and the integrating West.

Geopolitically, the best illustration of this situation has been the shift in weight from a disintegrating Soviet Union to a reunified Germany. Put differently, while the integrating West – covered by the European and Euro-Atlantic institutions – was characterized by consensual politics, the disintegrating East was dominated by sheer power politics.

Therefore, it is not surprising that almost all former communist countries have perceived the situation as both a threat which had to be avoided as well as an opportunity which had to be realized. Consequently, they all declared their intention to join both NATO and the European Union, once it was decided that the instability in the East could be "cured" only through the projection of western stability towards the East, via those two organizations' enlargement.

In that context, the association of those countries – Romania included – to the parliamentary activity of NATO has been an important component of their effort to join the Alliance. Consequently, the phases of that association mirror the stages of their road towards membership.

At first, reflecting NATO's decision to do away with the old enemy stereotype from the Cold War era, the first Romanian members of Parliament, together with their counterparts from other former communist countries, were invited to attend the activities of the then North Atlantic Assembly.

I know – from those who formed the first delegation, like Senators Gherman and Ratiu – that they were received by their western colleagues with sympathy and goodwill. Their participation in the work of the Assembly was a real school for our delegates, allowing them to be initiated into the practices of western parliamentary procedures. In short, it proved to be a practical course in democracy.

Moreover, our parliamentarians were able to attend the debates of their colleagues from the NATO countries, thus familiarizing themselves with the problems which NATO was facing. Gradually, they were thus introduced to the functioning of the Alliance and its current problems. These were not negligible, bearing in mind that NATO at that time was forced to take on a new dimension in addition to collective defence; namely that of a security organization, managing the crises within a larger geographical space than the one it was tasked to defend.

Thus, in those years, participation in NATO PA activities offered the associated delegations the possibility, besides knowing and understanding the functioning of the Alliance, to be in contact with their influential colleagues on whose decisions their own countries' integration into NATO would soon depend. Thus, their voices were heard in the NATO capitals, providing a useful input to the Alliance decision-making process.

This worked both ways. I remember that, being State Secretary in the Romanian MoD (1993-1996), in charge of the military relations with the Alliance, I benefited greatly from my consultations with the then members of the Romanian delegation to the NATO PA. Through them, we regularly received the printed materials of the organization, learned the opinions of the delegation and organized visits for their colleague rapporteurs.

In this context, a point of reference was the organization of the NATO PA autumn session in Bucharest, in October 1997, following the acceptance of a proposal put forward by the late deputy Ion Ratiu, a true colleague and friend.

The Bucharest autumn session took place after the NATO Madrid summit. At that summit, Romania had expected an invitation to start accession procedures to the Alliance. In the end, it did not receive this. The reason was that the inclusion of Romania (and Slovenia for that matter) would have diminished the voting safety margin in the US Senate. In a larger perspective, however, consensus in the Alliance on a southern enlargement was considerably weaker than on a northern, more traditional, one (the Visegrad countries).

Under the circumstances, the Bucharest session took place against a background of dissatisfaction and even frustration. I remember that some of the participants were looking for signs of this in the organization of the session. But these expectations were unwarranted, because we had already taken the decision to continue our efforts to join NATO, adapting our internal reform process to the changing environment.

Because, even at the time of the Bucharest session, but more evidently at the following Barcelona spring session, it became clear that NATO needed time to digest the consequences of the current enlargement and, consequently, there was no stomach for further enlargement soon. Later, Kosovo "derailed" the Washington Summit, which became preoccupied with putting into place another time-buying mechanism; similar to the PfP back in 1993-1994, when the pressure for immediate enlargement was also very intense.

But, as in the previous case of the PfP, the Membership Action Plan proved to be a much more successful instrument than previously expected, thus helping the second wave countries to start their integration prior to admission. This saved time and money, while making sure the new members were better prepared than their predecessors.

In the meantime, the European Union took the lead and, at Luxemburg and Helsinki, 12 countries started accession talks which, for the first 10 of them, were successfully concluded with membership in 2004.

However, the combination of the MAP and the response to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 – which tested the real military capacity of the would-be allies – provided a new impetus for further NATO enlargement. This impetus was also felt at the NATO PA meetings. During that time, being already Defence Minister of Romania, I took time to attend the sessions in Vilnius and Sofia, to make sure that things were on track. (That such action was necessary was later confirmed by some attempts within the NATO PA to limit the second wave of enlargement by excluding Romania and Bulgaria, attempts which failed, following the political decision to invite seven new countries to join the Alliance).

Prague 2002 was for us what Madrid represented for the Visegrad countries in 1997. It was the confirmation of the success primarily of our military reform, but also an acknowledgement of our capabilities – by then, already tested in places like Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan.

In this context, I would like to mention the decision back in July 2002 to deploy an infantry battalion to Kandahar, in southern Afghanistan, by our own means and sustain it in the theatre for a long duration (it is still there at the time of writing). In reality, the invitation Romania received in January 2002 from the United States to deploy a battalion to Afghanistan was considered not only a test but also an important opportunity to demonstrate – before admission – that Romania was already a reliable and relatively potent ally.

But Prague meant something else, too. It meant the initiation of NATO's own transformation, to better respond to the new challenges of the post September 11 international security environment. To us, that represented a test of our ability to orient our internal reform in synchronisation with the direction the Alliance was taking, thus allowing ourselves to recuperate some of our traditional delay in adjusting to the changing conditions within the international system.

From that time, the activities of the NATO PA – and that of its member delegations – inevitably started to reflect the rigours of that transformation process.

Romanian peacekeepers in KFOR, February 2003. Like other aspirants, Romania contributed its forces to Alliance operations well before becoming a full member.

Now, after Madrid and Prague, as well as debating the process of Alliance reform and transformation, the Assembly has again become a very useful forum for both the new candidates – the signatories of the Adriatic Charter (Albania, Croatia and FYR of Macedonia) – and other PfP countries, some of which already expressed their wish to join NATO. Again, the NATO PA is a school in democracy and Alliance business, mediating the contact of the parliamentarians of those countries with their counterparts from the member states.

And, in conclusion, as one who has come back to the NATO PA, let me say that, compared to my previous participation (1996-2000), I find a much more pragmatic Assembly, wanting to know reality first hand, perfectly equipped to debate the complex problems confronting the reforming of the Alliance, but also ready, willing and capable of supporting – with its expertise – the democratic efforts taking place in some of the hot spots around the world (Afghanistan, for one).

In this context, the Romanian delegation – consisting not only of veterans, like me, but also of young parliamentarians – intends to bring its full contribution to the successful activity of the NATO PA.

* * *

On 23 August 1968, I thrust a cobblestone into the tracks of a Soviet tank on the Square of National Uprising in Bratislava. It was a desperate demonstration of resistance against a brutal, violent and humiliating act. The tank tracks crushed the cobblestone, just as the Soviet occupation crushed the last hopes of Slovaks and Czechs in Dubcek's socialism with a human face. In front of the Bratislava University, there were three symbolic graves of students shot dead. Those of us who had had better luck were standing guard of honour at the graves. Suddenly, a vehicle full of young Soviet soldiers appeared. It was August, and we were sweating, not only because we were hot, but also because we were scared. To my surprise, some of the soldiers took off their helmets and waved to us in a friendly manner. Immediately their commander released his rifle and squashed them...

I was not yet twenty, and my whole life was ahead waiting for me. I dreamed about distant countries, new friends. Even though my country was occupied, and Dubcek was ousted from power, it was still possible to travel. In July 1969, I went to Germany (then West Germany). I, a young student from Slovakia, stayed with a very nice family (the family of Thomas Angermann in Neuwied), not far from Bonn. I played volleyball with German boys and earned some money by working in a factory producing construction parts. The Angermanns were astonishing in taking care of me. When I decided to go back home after a month's stay, they tried to persuade me to stay in Germany. It was the time when thousands of Slovaks and Czechs were leaving their occupied country. However, I could not imagine my life without my family and friends who were waiting for me back home. I invited the Angermanns to visit Slovakia and I returned home. Two weeks later the borders were closed for twenty years. The Angermanns never came to see Slovakia. We ground our teeth and cursed not only the Russians, but also the Americans and NATO for their failure to come to help us. Somehow we did not fully realize that the iron hand of Yalta had allocated us, the less lucky ones, a place behind the barbed wire. So we bent our backs, put on two faces and kept hoping.

Jozef Banas
Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Head of the Slovak Delegation.

1968: Soviet tanks in Czechoslovakia; 1989: the "Velvet Revolution".

Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda addressing the plenary sitting, Bratislava, May 2004.

The hope came with Mikhail Gorbachev and we did not let anybody take it away from us. At that time I was working in the German Democratic Republic, and I will never forget the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev and his warning words addressed to Erich Honecker. It is indeed a pity that Gorbachev, this truly courageous communist statesman, has fallen into oblivion. A logical consequence of Gorbachev's perestroika was the fall of communism. In November 1989, in the Velvet Revolution, the Slovaks and Czechs said a definite "No" to lies, swindles and hypocrisy. It was in the period of the November 1989 demonstrations that Lubomir Feldek, a great Slovak poet, asked me to sign his petition to dissolve the communist party. Out of the 450,000 members of the communist party in Slovakia, only thirty found enough courage to do it. The then still ruling communist party declared us to be traitors. Thank God, I only laugh at it now.

In December 1989, Vaclav Havel became the president of Czechoslovakia. The country's new leaders sent clear signals about becoming a member of the European Union and NATO. Three years later, the independent Slovakia came into existence, and both Prague and Bratislava became worried whether our goals would not shift apart. Unfortunately, the Slovak worries turned out to be justified. Vladimir Meciar came into power. Thanks to his populism, he won the support of almost three quarters of the population, which was enough for him to get the Parliament to pass literally everything he wanted. Feeling deep sorrow, we could only watch how our Czech, Polish and Hungarian friends joined NATO in 1999. Even though Slovakia had had the same starting position as the others, it did not get the invitation to Washington, due to the undemocratic government of Vladimir Meciar. My younger daughter said then that if we did not get into the European Union and NATO she would follow the example of my older daughter and leave Slovakia. Her words kept whirling through my mind and challenged me to do something to motivate her and her peers to stay at home. It was around the time of the appearance of a young, capable speaker named Mikulas Dzurinda, a representative of democratic, pro-Atlantic and pro-European forces, appeared, that I decided to enter politics. In a number of rhetoric duels, Dzurinda defeated Meciar, to finally become Prime Minister in 1998. Slovakia set out to catch up with the others and eliminate its handicap. All the political parties in the ruling coalition clearly declared

their support for Slovakia to become a NATO member as soon as possible. The support of the NATO accession continuously increased, and this trend was confirmed by the citizens in the 2002 elections, following which Mikulas Dzurinda became Prime Minister again. We were equally successful in catching up with the European Union candidate countries. Then came the year of 2004. It brought unprecedented historical events: in March, my country became a member of NATO, and a month later also a member of the European Union. As the Slovak flag was being pulled up the flagstaff, it went through my mind that August 1968 could never happen again.

Actually, I do not know why I still see in my mind the young Russian soldiers taking off their helmets in front of the Bratislava University. It seemed to me that their eyes were sad, and we probably gave them some hope. Today, I am really happy and genuinely proud that I am the first Slovak to be elected to the post of the Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. I have told myself that if there is something meaningful I can do it is to give hope to those countries that are still on the road to the values cherished by the NATO. The more of us there are, the better for democracy, peace and stability in the world.

* * *

My Initial Encounter with the NATO PA

Hans-Dirk Bierling
Former member of the German Delegation.

"Bierling, do you want to go to Paris in two weeks?" one of our group's senior members asked me during a plenary meeting in late April 1990.

What a question! – directed to a newly elected MP in the first freely elected People's Chamber in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), just five months after the Wall came down. Obviously, the answer was going to be a cheerful yes, when you take into account the fact that I, like 17 million other Germans, had been cut off from the free world for 28 years by the Wall and barbed wire barriers and in those years of isolation could not have imagined that it would ever be possible to take a trip to Paris.

So, after willingly accepting, my next question was "What's it all about in Paris?". "Something to do with NATO," was the not-so-precise answer I got back.

NATO? – I was slightly taken aback. During the 40 years the GDR existed I didn't accept everything the regime's propaganda efforts tried to make us believe about this allegedly aggressive military alliance, but, on the other hand, I was not entirely free of reservations, either.

I quickly found out what was going to take place. I was told NATO had an assembly of parliamentarians from all the member countries and that the delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany had invited a small group of MPs from the first freely elected People's Chamber to attend a meeting in Paris in May.

So off I went with five other MPs from the various party-political groups represented in the People's Chamber to attend a meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly in Paris from 10 to 14 May 1990.

My initial reservations were very rapidly dispelled!

The very friendly reception we were given by the delegation from the German Bundestag as well as the interest the other parliamentarians took in us, given that our presence underscored the existence of a growing chink in the Iron Curtain (it should not be forgotten that the Warsaw Pact still existed at that point in time!) quickly allayed our doubts and fears. There was a very intensive discussion in Paris of whether and in what way the NATO PA could support the democracy movements in the former Eastern Bloc countries, e.g. by granting them guest status or possibly even by creating an associate membership for parliamentarians from these countries. The NATO PA pursued this policy very systematically in the years that followed – and, as we now know, was very successful in doing so.

Both surprising and important to me was the insight I gained in Paris that NATO is considerably more than just a military alliance – that it is also a community based on shared values whose objectives and tasks extend far beyond those of a military nature.

Thus it was that after my election to the German Bundestag in December of 1990, i.e. after the first all-German election, I decided to submit my application to become a member of the German delegation to the NATO PA. My application was accepted and I remained active and committed in this role until my retirement from political life in 2002. Based on the experience of having lived under a dictatorship for forty years my primary objective in those years was to support the new democracies emerging in neighbouring Eastern European countries and to encourage them to join NATO. It was my privilege throughout those years to be a member of the sub-committee of the Political Committee that was set up specifically for the purpose of addressing this task, and for a considerable period of time I served as its Vice Chairman.

Today democracy has become something almost taken for granted in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The NATO family has grown as these countries have become members and I myself have made many friends in the course of this process. I look back with pleasure on the years I spent working for the NATO PA, a career, as I mentioned at the outset, that I began with a certain amount of trepidation.








Chapter 5 Co-operation and Partnership

Nano Ruzin
Ambassador and Head of the Mission of the Republic of Macedonia to NATO. Former Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Macedonia.

The history of the Atlantic idea and of the path to the Alliance for countries emerging from the collapse of the Yugoslav Federation is the fruit of many efforts, sacrifices and ambitions.

In the era of communism, Yugoslav ideologists put forward the theory that there were internal and external enemies. All those not in agreement with the communist party's policy or who expressed doubts about it were declared internal enemies. Systems ideologically opposed to Tito's policy of non-alignment such as the "western democracies" and their politico-military alliances like NATO and the WEU, or the Warsaw Pact, were labelled potential external enemies. Neighbouring countries which, influenced by the great powers, constantly raised the tricky bilateral issues existing between them and the non-aligned Yugoslav Federation contributed to this tense atmosphere. Euro-Atlantic ideas, individual rights and freedoms, political and human rights in general were viewed through the distorting lens of Marxism as being completely unreal and the formative elements of western civil ideology.

This was the context in which the break-up of the Yugoslav Federation began, in the early 1990s. Macedonia, through apathy, continued to apply a form of non-aligned foreign policy, called "equidistance". However, as the Yugoslav crisis worsened, Alliance ideas began to demonstrate their pragmatic value in the Balkans. First of all Slovenia, then the Republic of Macedonia, joined the Partnership for Peace. Today Macedonia and Croatia are candidates for full membership of NATO, while Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro await their turn to join the Partnership for Peace.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly has proved itself a forum for creative ideas, friendship and mutual understanding.

To the public in a partner country the most visible feature of the Partnership for Peace is involvement by parliamentarians from the country concerned in the work of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

At the outset, a parliamentarian from a partner country sees this assembly of 500 parliamentarians from 46 countries on both sides of the Atlantic, as far as the Urals and the Caucasus, as a mosaic of civilisations and cultures, identities and views, worlds and ideas.

The smooth running of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly calls for a perfectly trained team which, apart from its work, must also be consistently good-tempered, responsible and patient. This is an exact description of Simon Lunn's team, and has been the case since our first contacts.

Every session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly was a new and more profound experience for each deputy. How, in this great mass of deputies, was he or she to express his or her position and get his or her country noticed, especially if that country had declared its goal to become an Alliance member?

From right: the author, General Wesley Clark (SACEUR), Mrs Gertrude Clark, and Victor Ozerov (Russia).

In the mid-1990s the dominant topics in the work of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly were the internal and external changes in the Alliance. Internally the Alliance was endeavouring to adapt to new challenges and to move towards greater operating efficiency. Externally the Alliance decided to enlarge, taking in new members formerly belonging to the Warsaw Pact.

At the same time, as Macedonia joined the Partnership for Peace, crisis and the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia became the dominant themes in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's work. During this period the Macedonian delegation was supposed to put forward its "exclusive model" for inter-ethnic relations and to explain the magic status of the country as an "oasis of peace" in the Balkans in turmoil.

Above all the Macedonian delegation, like the other candidates, had to persuade the members of the American Congress, the senators and the deputies from the other NATO member countries that their country was a serious candidate for membership. At this time, when we were setting out on the path leading to NATO, we thought, very naively, that joining was for the most part a matter for political decision. The true extent of the reforms in

the armed forces and in all other areas which were the conditions for membership were not yet entirely clear to everyone. It was particularly difficult to explain this state of affairs in our country. We were often faced with a complete lack of understanding on the part of certain political circles, who were quite convinced that membership could only be a political decision, not a series of institutional reforms. This lasted until the NATO Summit in Washington in 1999, where Membership Action Plans were established.

The Rose-Roth Seminars: the School of Euro-Atlantic Values

The series of Rose-Roth seminars influenced the development of the Euro-Atlantic idea among the NATO Parliamentary Assembly deputies. The exchanges of views and briefings by the greatest experts on regional and other issues connected with the security of Europe were an excellent school for the participants.

The Atmosphere of Ohrid. From left: former Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, Frank Cook (United Kingdom), and Princess Somsangouane at a Rose-Roth Seminar in Ohrid, Macedonia, one of a series of such seminars on the problems of the Balkans held at Lake Ohrid in the late 1990s.

Five Rose-Roth seminars have been held in Macedonia, in Ohrid, attended by deputies and political leaders from Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo as well as Partnership and NATO deputies. The issue was regional problems. One of these meetings, in 1998, was attended by the Serbian parliamentary delegation, dominated by deputies from Milosevic's SPS, and the delegation from Kosovo. In spite of Simon Lunn's efforts to help the delegations to find a minimum of consensus, harmony seemed very difficult to find. In vain did Simon Lunn assure them that their positions would be much closer together after tasting Ohrid trout and drinking a glass of Macedonian wine; nothing of the sort. The US Ambassador in Macedonia at the time, His Excellency Mr Christopher Hill, observed: "My dear Simon, their relations are so soured that a barrel of "skopsko" beer could not save the day". "I think that it is the atmosphere of Ohrid rather than food or drink that will clarify their ideas," added Mr Frank Cook, a British MP whose wife, a Laotian princess, subsequently became the idol of the city of Ohrid.

Perhaps Frank Cook was right, because the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which resolved the crisis that had rocked Macedonia for six months, was signed in the summer of 2001, after four weeks of negotiations. The Ohrid Agreement laid the foundations for the dream of 90% of Macedonian citizens to come true: to receive the invitation for Macedonia to become a member of NATO. The principle governing the way to the status of member is very similar to the spirit of the Rose-Roth seminars: a regional approach of good neighbourliness and co-operation. By signing the Adriatic Charter with the United States,

Macedonia, Albania and Croatia committed themselves to a common joint effort to follow the path leading to the Alliance. At the next NATO Summit in 2006 it is to be expected that the "Big Bang" that was heard in Prague with the entry of the seven countries in the Vilnius Group will be repeated, but this time in its Balkans variant of the "Big MAC" (MAC = Macedonia, Albania, Croatia).

This juicy hamburger will certainly be tasted beforehand by the NATO parliamentarians.

* * *

Giorgi Baramidze
State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration. Former Head of the Georgian Delegation.

The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed tremendous changes. The demolition of the Berlin Wall signalled the beginning of a transformation that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Empire and created a new political reality in the world. Newly independent states emerged from the Warsaw Pact and the USSR and began the development of market-oriented democratic societies. The need to sustain the democratic process and preserve national security led these countries to aspire to NATO and European Union membership. For different reasons and circumstances (political, economical, geographic location, etc.) they were at varying distances from their goals, but with assistance of friendly nations most of them have already achieved great success.

The beginning of the twenty-first century has introduced new realities that have had an enormous impact on the process of Euro-Atlantic integration. EU and NATO enlargements; global war on terror; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; trafficking of human beings; and illegal circulations of drugs and small arms have brought new dimensions to the security agenda of the Euro-Atlantic area.

These changes and factors caused serious disputes and discussions within NATO, and led to the reform and transformation of the Alliance. NATO has become the world's strongest political-military security organization and together with partners plays a key role in global security arrangements.

The NATO PA as the forum for parliamentarians from NATO member and partner countries represents an important forum for the discussion of international security arrangements. The Assembly's sessions, the committee meetings, and the Rose-Roth seminars represent the opportunity for parliamentarians from NATO member and partner states to meet and exchange views on issues of common interest and concern. The Transatlantic Parliamentary Forum organized annually by the Assembly in Washington has become an essential instrument for fostering transatlantic dialogue. The open debates and discussions during the events organized by the NATO PA on security, political and economic matters relevant to the Euro-Atlantic area strengthen interparliamentary dialogue and support the consolidation of transatlantic ties.

In addition to Rose-Roth seminars, the Assembly also provides various training programmes for MPs and parliamentary staff from the new democracies. These events serve not only to increase the understanding of NATO's agenda, but also to support the development of parliamentarism and civil societies in emerging democracies.

The Assembly has provided tremendous support to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on their way to NATO membership and has also made great efforts to resolve the tensions that persist between Russia and the three Baltic states.

We all remember the exasperated reactions of Russia on democratisation processes in the Baltic states and on Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian membership of NATO and the European Union. Great empire ambitions, a *guberniya* approach toward newly independent states, and Soviet melancholy prevail within political and military circles in Russia. They refuse to admit the existing reality and still consider ex-Soviet territory as their undisputable zone of influence. They react painfully to any manifestation of independence and democratisation processes in the ex-Soviet area.

The same powers are very irritated with Georgia. Russia intends to punish Georgia for its aspiration towards NATO and European Union membership by provoking and supporting separatist sentiments in the regions of Georgia accompanied by economic sanctions and sabotage.

The NATO PA has paid great attention to the Caucasus region, and Georgia in particular. Numerous events were designated to study the existing security, political and economic situation in the region. I would particularly like to mention the visit of the President of the NATO PA, Mr. Raphael Estrella and the Secretary General, Mr. Simon Lunn, in 2001; the Rose-Roth seminar in Tbilisi, Georgia 27-30 September 2002; the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe visit to Tbilisi 27-30 April 2003; and the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security's visit to Georgia in September 2004.

Seeing it for ourselves. A visit to the Pankisi Gorge organized and led by the author during a NATO PA Rose-Roth Seminar in Georgia, September 2002, to demonstrate that the Gorge was securely under Georgian control.

During the Rose-Roth seminar and the Sub-Committee visit the Assembly's delegations were able to visit the Pankisi Gorge. These trips coincided with beginning and ending an antiterrorist operation in the Gorge conducted by Georgian police and security forces. Parliamentarians from NATO member and partner countries had a chance to meet Chechen refugees, and to receive first-hand assessments on developments in the Gorge from the Georgian Ministers (Interior and State Security).

During the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security visit to Georgia in September 2004 Parliamentarians from NATO member and partner countries were able to visit the Tskhinvali Region (South Osetia) and observe for themselves the situation and latest developments in the region.

These visits provide the Assembly with first-hand and unbiased information. This has allowed NATO PA members to contribute on an informed basis to the tough debates during Assembly sessions on the situation in the South Caucasus between the Russian and Georgian delegations.

Active engagement in the activity of the Assembly is very important for Georgia, as it considers this participation as an important mechanism to achieve its principal security objectives – integration into NATO and the European Union.

Georgia became an active member of PfP in 1994, and since that time has hosted and participated in different exercises under the PfP framework. Georgia joined PARP in 1998. Georgia also contributes to international security arrangements. Georgian servicemen participate in peace support and crisis response operations worldwide, including the NATO-led operation in Kosovo. The overall number of Georgian servicemen serving in PSO/CROs is 1,050; these are deployed abroad in the field on a 6-month rotation basis. NATO and Georgia also signed a Transit Agreement on 2 March 2005, according to which Georgia offers its land, infrastructure and host nation support as assistance for NATO-led operations.

At the NATO Prague summit in 2002, Georgia officially declared its intention to join the Alliance and in 2004 NATO adopted an Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) for Georgia. This IPAP lifts NATO-Georgia relations to a substantially new level of co-operation. Georgia considers the IPAP as a road map to a Membership Action Plan (MAP).

The NATO PA has a very important role to play in the Caucasus Region. The open debates and discussions on security matters in the region during Assembly events, as well as the seminars and training sessions organized by the Assembly make an important contribution to finding common ground and solutions. This can only benefit security and stability throughout the Region.

We hope the NATO PA will continue to play an active role in the region, and in Georgia particularly. The organization of NATO PA meetings and seminars in Georgia will definitely be helpful in preparing the ground for the eventual resolution of existing security problems.

We particularly welcomed the Assembly's initiative in developing and organizing, together with NATO, a special training programme for Georgia in the context of NATO's Defence Institutions Building Initiative (DiB). This course brought together representatives drawn from each of the major constituencies – civilian, military, and parliamentary –

involved in the development and implementation of Georgia's defence and security policy. The aim was to promote better co-operation between the executive and legislative branches of government in the management of defence and the armed forces.

Our participants, both government and parliamentary, were unanimous that the briefings, and particularly the interactive exercise which took the form of a parliamentary hearing, was immensely beneficial to their work.

It was great honour and pleasure for me to be Head of the Georgian parliamentary delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly from 2001 to 2003. Now in my position as State Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration I am trying to retain the valuable relations established during that period.

Finally, I would like to underline the tremendous support and assistance provided to the Georgian parliamentary delegation by the International Secretariat of the Assembly. Headed by the patriarch of transatlantic relations, Secretary General Mr. Simon Lunn, the Secretariat represents a family of highly qualified professionals (like David Hobbs, Andrea Cellino, Steffen Sachs, Susan Millar, Svitlana Svyetova and others) whose kind assistance and friendly support is much appreciated by the Georgian parliamentary delegation and by me personally.

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Andrea Cellino
Deputy to the Secretary General for Policy Co-ordination of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

When I took over the responsibility for organizing the Rose-Roth seminars in 2001, the programme was ready to take on new directions. Most of the East European countries which the seminars had been created to help – and where the first seminars had been held – were either new NATO members or were getting ready to enter the Alliance very soon. My predecessors as organizers of the Rose-Roth seminars – Simon Lunn and Catherine Guicherd – had made the seminars the leading outreach programme of the Assembly. Simon, together with Senator Bill Roth and Congressman Charlie Rose, had conceived the programme and he was the architect of its success in the early post-Cold War period. Catherine, with her strong ideas and personality, had elevated these meetings to extraordinary levels of professionalism and quality. Not much to change and even less to improve in this area, then.

What kind of change, if any, did the programme need? Discussions with members and colleagues left no doubt that the Rose-Roth formula was still valid to address the challenges of an enlarged Alliance that was pushing its borders further East. There was still a pressing requirement for parliamentarians in several countries in transition to learn from the experiences of their western colleagues in dealing with security issues, and Rose-Roth seminars could serve the additional function of promoting much-needed regional dialogue. Two geographical areas seemed the obvious targets of our attention: the Balkans, which had in fact been the focus of most of the seminars of the late 1990s and early 2000s and where there was clearly a lot of "unfinished business"; and the South Caucasus, where the break-up of the former Soviet Union had left a legacy of unresolved conflicts and weak states, which were nonetheless struggling to get closer to western democratic standards.

The very first seminar that I organized tried cautiously to establish a connection between these two regions. It was held in Bucharest in October 2001. Marred as it was by the aftermath of the tragic events of 11 September, participants were nevertheless able to learn about developments in the countries around the Black Sea and understand some of the connections between security in this area and in the Balkans. For the first time at a Rose-Roth seminar, we had a session on the South Caucasus in which members of the parliaments of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia sat together at the head table (with the Georgian sitting in the middle, of course!) and gave their views on the region. The outcome was not very constructive, but it gave everybody a real sense of the scale and of the problems, in particular of the complexities of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

The young and dynamic Georgian parliamentarian who spoke in Bucharest, Giorgi Baramidze, was so enthusiastic about the seminar that he managed to convince his parliament to host a Rose-Roth in September 2002. Mr Baramidze was at that time a leader of the opposition to President Shevardnadze, after having been elected in the ranks of the ruling coalition. Following his political choice, he had lost the chairmanship of the Defence Committee in the Parliament and could barely retain the leadership of the Georgian delegation to the NATO PA. When I visited Tbilisi in June 2002 to prepare for the seminar, he and his assistant were sharing a tiny office in the huge and decrepit parliament building.

Despite political difficulties, the first Rose-Roth seminar in the South Caucasus was a success. Seminar participants understood the growing strategic significance of the region in terms of its relevance to the fight against terrorism and to the supply of energy. But most importantly, parliamentarians and observers became aware of the region's endemic instability due to the "frozen conflicts" and the impoverished nature of the society, in political, economic and civic terms.

The problems of Georgia were obviously the central focus of the seminar. The country was facing the challenge of trying to raise living standards, tackling crime and corruption, and developing democratic institutions. But difficulties were accentuated by the internal conflicts of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the problems with Russia over the infiltration of Chechen fighters in the Pankisi Gorge. All participants expressed great interest in the situation in that remote border area, which had provoked warnings of unilateral military action by President Vladimir Putin and a serious deterioration in relations between Georgia and Russia. At our insistence, Mr Baramidze organized a one-day visit to the Pankisi Gorge at the end of the seminar.

After three hours in a bus on a grey September morning, we arrived at the bottom of the Gorge, a narrow valley in Eastern Georgia surrounded by low and lush hills. With the help of huge maps, Mr Baramidze and an army colonel briefed us about the Georgian security forces' operations to deal with the problem of terrorist and criminal infiltration in the area. We then proceeded into the Gorge in a couple of small, battered buses, escorted by heavily armed and masked Georgian security forces. While the masked men patrolled the ground around us with the support of two old tanks and other armoured vehicles, we were able to visit on foot two villages in the Pankisi area where those of our group who spoke Russian could exchange a few words with the local population. This was quite an achievement for the Georgians: by safely driving some twenty members of parliament from NATO countries around the Pankisi Gorge they could claim that their forces had secured the area. The day typically ended with a sumptuous Georgian banquet and parliamentarians from all countries toasting and singing. The following day, the whole visit was extensively covered by Georgian and Russian media alike.

The Pankisi Gorge remains, three years later, a problematic area in Georgian-Russian relations, but many other things have changed in Georgia. We all watched on our TV screens the "rose revolution" that brought the Georgian democratic opposition led by Mikhail Saakashvili to power, ousting the discredited Shevardnadze regime. The new government is tackling Georgia's serious problems with renewed energy and determination, and has made some progress in fighting corruption and addressing frozen conflicts. Moreover, the new parliament is playing a leading role among the countries of the post-Soviet area to promote truly democratic reforms. Giorgi Baramidze, after a brief tenure as Defence Minister, is now Georgia's State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration.

Meeting with refugees in the Pankisi Gorge, during a NATO PA Rose-Roth Seminar in Georgia, September 2002.

A few months after the seminar in Georgia, the Assembly accepted an invitation from Serbia and Montenegro to organize a seminar in Belgrade. Many seminars had already been organized in the Balkans, but for the first time after the Kosovo campaign and the fall of Slobodan Milosevic, the parliament in Belgrade signalled its intention to strengthen relations with the NATO PA. Such an initiative was certainly a result of the reformist policy inaugurated by the government of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic.

In the early months of 2003, preparations for the seminar proceeded smoothly, whilst the world was completely captivated by the dramatic run-up to the war in Iraq. Suddenly, just one week before the seminar, Serbia was dramatically back in the headlines: Prime Minister Djindjic had been shot dead in front of his office in Belgrade. His forceful campaign to fight organized crime and corruption had won him many enemies among the faithful of the old regime, including former militia and security forces involved in criminal activities. To help the police find the assassins, the Serbian government declared a state of emergency. We were getting ready to postpone our seminar.

For a couple of days, telephone calls went back and forth between the Secretariat in Brussels and the parliament in Belgrade. Miroslav Filipovic, then Head of the delegation of Serbia and Montenegro, was at first convinced that we should hold the seminar at a later date. But people in the government were of a different opinion: Ivan Vejvoda, advisor to the late Prime Minister and long-time friend of the Assembly, insisted with Filipovic that an event like the Rose-Roth seminar could help soothe the country and send the signal

to the international community that Belgrade was determined to continue on the same path that Djindjic had undertaken. The parliament was at last convinced to go on with the seminar.

A few hours before Carl Bildt opened the seminar with his keynote speech, US troops had started the invasion of Iraq. In a highly emotional atmosphere, the former Swedish Prime Minister paid tribute to Djindjic, saying that he had been compelled to manoeuvre between the forces of "heaven and hell". "He was not a saint, but became a hero", Bildt said, "Without him far less would have been achieved". He also suggested that the Balkan wars should have taught the West important lessons of relevance to the Iraq crisis. Democracies were sometimes confronted by an evil that could not be appeased. This, in turn, defines the limits of diplomacy. Paradoxically though, Bildt said, force is never sufficient to spark positive transformation.

Djindjic's assassination and its implications were obviously a central theme of the seminar and provided a framework for discussions on the state of Serbian and Montenegrin society: political, constitutional and defence reforms: relations with the Euro-Atlantic community and in particular with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Carla Del Ponte, the Chief Prosecutor of the Tribunal, who had been advised not to participate in Djindjic's funeral, came to Belgrade for the first time after the assassination, and spoke at the seminar.

The Tribunal's Chief Prosecutor paid homage to the slain Prime Minister, who she said had understood the importance of bringing war criminals to the Tribunal. She regretted that his vision was not shared by many Serbian elites, because genuine co-operation with The Hague was above all in Serbia's interest. Those who claimed otherwise were propagating a very dangerous and short-term view. Ms Del Ponte pointed out that the Tribunal was dedicated to bringing to trial those most responsible for torture, enslavement, rape, murder and the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people simply because they were from another ethnic group. Yet these trials were about individual and not collective responsibility. Ms Del Ponte asked how bringing those people to account could be called a source of instability in the Balkans. A culture of impunity and equivocation was not only working against the establishment of democratic norms in the region, it was also encouraging extremists involved in mafia activities. She argued that it would be asking too much for fragile and cash-strapped societies to conduct such trials on their own.

The seminar in Belgrade contributed to calming tensions in Serbia and Montenegro and gave a strong signal of support to the forces of reform and democracy in the country. For several weeks after the meeting, diplomats and opinion makers from the region stressed the constructive role the Assembly had played in such difficult circumstances. The seminar also marked a turning point in relations between the Assembly and Serbia and Montenegro.

The Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro, Belgrade, venue for the Rose-Roth seminar organized with the parliament and held one week after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic, March 2003.

Since then, their parliamentarians have been extremely active in our meetings, especially all the subsequent seminars in the Balkan region. In June 2005, another seminar was organized in the country, hosted by the Montenegrin parliament. Many Serbian politicians involved in our seminar in 2003 are now important leaders in their country. One in particular, Boris Tadic, who had addressed the seminar as a newly appointed Defence Minister, is now President of Serbia.

Meanwhile, Belgrade has made tremendous progress on its way to Euro-Atlantic integration. The European Union has completed its feasibility study and in the near future the country will likely sign a Stabilization and Association Agreement. The economic situation is constantly improving and co-operation with the Hague Tribunal is producing significant results. However, important problems remain to be settled before Euro-Atlantic integration is assured. The country has still to apprehend the remaining criminals wanted by the Hague Tribunal, most importantly former general Ratko Mladic. Moreover, the problem of Kosovo's future status remains the biggest stumbling block for any progress in the region and its resolution will require an active and constructive role by all Serbian politicians.

These two seminars, in very different ways, can be considered examples of the Rose-Roth programme's purpose and utility. Both events were useful to parliamentarians who learned directly about the situation in specific countries at crucial moments during their transition; they both produced tangible, if limited, positive results on the ground, helping new democratic leaders to emerge or sustaining them in difficult circumstances. More fundamentally, they helped establish important links between parliamentarians from NATO and partner countries. In other words, they created the sort of political bonds and networks that represent the real strength and significance of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

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The Parliamentary Staff Training Programme

Svitlana Svyetova
Advisor for Central and East European Activities of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

The creation of the staff training courses was due to the recognition that in the early years of transition most Central and East European parliaments lacked the cadre of qualified staff that is essential for an effectively functioning legislature. The need for such support staff is particularly true for the fields of defence and security. The Assembly was well placed to organize briefings on the functioning of NATO, but also to draw on the expertise available in national parliaments concerning the practices and procedures needed for effective democratic oversight.

In 1992, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly introduced a series of Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes as a component of the Rose-Roth Initiative. Initially, these programmes were designed to familiarize the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with NATO, SHAPE and the NATO PA and to provide staff with the knowledge and expertise that would help them in their national parliaments in strengthening democratic oversight mechanisms.

Gradually, the Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes evolved, reflecting changes in the political environment of partner countries and their new requirements, as well as reflecting the new political priorities of NATO. As NATO enlargement has proceeded and partners have become members the focus of the programme has also shifted outwards to regions of concern: the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia. In effect, the Assembly is ready to respond to any request. Each programme is tailored to the needs and requirements of the specific parliament. It could be detailed training on NATO or a general introduction to security organizations, or specific training on the defence budget and on the oversight mechanisms for defence and security.

Since 1992, more than 200 parliamentary staff from Central, East and South East European countries have participated in the Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes. Various partner organizations have participated in the financing and development of these programmes, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), the OSCE and the Norwegian government.

Letter from Ms Raluca Elena Stefan, Counsellor, Special Commission for Oversight of the Foreign Intelligence Service, House of Deputies, Romanian Parliament

"I have the great pleasure to express, on behalf of myself and of my colleague, our highest appreciation for the warm welcome we received during the programme we participated last week, as well as for the interesting exchange of opinions and experience we had on this occasion.

I am confident that these briefings have contributed to the enlargement of our views regarding NATO, the European Union and the whole new world we are about to become part of officially. I am sure that your efforts in putting together such an interesting and complex training programme will very much pay off in our work and activities as members of the Romanian Parliament staff, because it is due to your efforts that we are now more aware and prepared for the future.

I do hope that we will have the opportunity to meet again sometime, and maybe even to work together. It was very nice meeting you all and I would like to say thank you again for this very useful experience."

Parliamentary staff from partner parliaments visiting SHAPE during one of the staff training courses organized by the Assembly.

Co-operation with USAID

When the Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes started in 1992, they had a different approach and structure from the programmes of today. From 1992 until 2000, the programmes were supported by a USAID grant. These programmes included a one-week orientation course on NATO in Brussels and a one-week participation in a seminar at Wilton Park in the United Kingdom. The latter allowed them to attend very focussed seminars judged to be relevant to their requirements and make contacts with a broad range of officials, academics and journalists – in the surroundings and atmosphere for which Wilton Park is rightly famous.

All associate delegations of the NATO PA – many of whom are full NATO members today – participated in these training programmes, which helped them to get to know NATO better and involved them in discussion on various security issues. By bringing together the staff from various countries for two weeks, these programmes contributed to the beginning of not only co-operation among the participants but also real friendships.

Co-operation with DCAF

In 2001 a new partner joined the Assembly – the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF). This organization has contributed not only financially but also by providing expertise and advice. The Centre's main goal is to encourage and support states and non-state governed institutions in their efforts to strengthen democratic and civilian control of armed and security forces and promote international co-operation in this field. The Centre is financed largely by the Swiss government and forms part of Switzerland's contribution to NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme.

Between June 2001 and December 2004, the NATO PA held 9 programmes together with DCAF. These programmes were regionally oriented and covered Russia, Ukraine, the South Caucasus, and the South East European countries. The latest South East European project consisted of two training programmes for ten DCAF-funded staff advisors representing seven parliaments in five South East European countries. The staff advisors, who represented Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania and Serbia and Montenegro, were chosen by their respective parliaments, but funded and trained by DCAF and the NATO PA. The goal of these training programmes was to provide the staff of these parliaments with detailed training on the parliamentary oversight of defence and security areas, including border security and intelligence.

Letter from Giorgi Baramidze, then Chairman of the Defence Committee of the Georgian Parliament, Head of the Georgian Delegation to the NATO PA (currently State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration)

"I would like to use this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude for the well organized staff training programme for the Caucasus region. The Programme gave the opportunity for our staff members to get familiarized with the existing situation in NATO and in the European Union especially in this difficult time for the global security."

Co-operation with Other Partners

In December 2001, the NATO PA organized a special training programme at the request of the OSCE office in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, all leaders of various political parties, participated in this programme. The objective of the programme was not only to introduce the participants to NATO but also to discuss extensively the situation in the Balkans with NATO officials. This programme helped the participants to engage in a dialogue, putting aside their different political and religious backgrounds.

In 2004, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway decided to support the Parliamentary Staff Training Programme at the NATO PA providing funds particularly for support to the Balkans and the Caucasus.

New Directions

In 2005 the Assembly decided to develop a further enhancement to its staff training programme as a contribution to NATO's Defence Institutions Building Initiative. Previous Assembly programmes had focussed exclusively on helping parliaments while NATO dealt primarily with the executive side, civilian and military. This situation represented an artificial compartmentalisation of these relationships and one which ran counter to the kind of co-operation between the executive and legislative branches that is required for effective democratic oversight and accountability. It was decided, therefore, to develop jointly with NATO a course that would bring together the various constituencies involved in the development and implementation of defence and security policy, notably from the parliament,

the ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Finance, the National Security Council and the General Staff. The aim being to strengthen democratic oversight mechanisms, promote a close relationship between the legislative and executive branches of power, and familiarize participants jointly with insights into the way NATO works, particularly in the field of defence planning.

Letter from Malinka Ristevksa Jordanova and Lidija Karakamcheva, Principal Advisors to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia

"It gives us a great pleasure to express our special gratitude for the support and for the excellent Training Programme prepared in co-operation with the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces for the Senior Parliamentary Staff from 10 to 14 June 2002. The visits and meetings we had made a notable impression on all of us and contributed to our better understanding of the role and work of NATO and democratic control of the armed forces. The high level of briefings from the invited representatives was greatly appreciated. We are looking forward to participating in similar other Programmes and to broaden our knowledge of security affairs so important for processes in South-Eastern Europe."

The first such course was run for Georgia. In addition to briefings on national and NATO defence planning, budgeting and strategic defence reviews – including the experience of new members, Romania and Latvia – the programme included an interactive exercise modelled on a parliamentary hearing. The representatives and officials from Georgia who attended the first course assessed the course as being immensely beneficial to them in their respective capacities.

Conclusion

The Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes have proved to be very successful. As we all know, members could be re-elected or not re-elected but the staff remains in the parliament for a while, sharing their knowledge and providing their expertise. The NATO PA equips the parliamentary staff with knowledge necessary for assisting the members in making important decisions in the areas of defence and security. Without experienced, professional and knowledgeable staff, it would be very difficult for members to participate in policy and decision-making. Therefore, the NATO PA sees this endeavour as a very important one and it will continue to invest into the professional development of the parliamentary staff of NATO partner countries.

* * *

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

Philipp Fluri
Deputy Director of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).

In spite of the progress made in the past decade, the transformation and management of democratically structured civil-military relations remain a major challenge to many states. This is particularly true for the countries in transition towards democracy and for war-torn or crisis-afflicted societies in need of reconstructing civil administration. Armed and paramilitary forces as well as other security-related structures remain important players in many states. It is widely accepted that the democratic and civilian oversight of these force structures is a crucial instrument for preventing conflicts, promoting peace and democracy as well as ensuring sustainable socio-economic development. To assist members of national parliaments in exercising their oversight function in these fields, to build competence in the armed forces and security sector governance fields among parliamentarians and parliamentary staffers in emerging democracies, and to harmonize national legislations and procedures with good practices observed in established democracies, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly have been co-operating successfully since October 2000 when DCAF was founded.

The Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Defence and Security Sector [1]

Many parliaments, especially in consolidating democracies, face difficulties in understanding the vast and complex security sector, getting relevant information and assessing military, police and intelligence data, operations and requirements. The Handbook serves as an invaluable reference tool on these issues for parliamentarians of all nationalities, providing comparative information on norms, national practices and educational data on the activities of the security sector.

The Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Defence and Security Sector was developed in close co-operation with parliamentary assemblies such as the NATO PA and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Published in 2003, the Handbook has since then seen several reprints in its English original. It has been translated into 30 different languages and 60,000 copies have been distributed to parliaments, parliamentary staffers, defence experts, media and civil society representatives all over the world.

1. Born, Fluri and Johnsson (eds.), *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Principles, mechanisms and practices,* Geneva, 2003 (ISBN: 92-9142-142; All the publications mentioned in this article are avaible on DCAF's website (www.dcaf.ch).

Handbook-launching seminars on issues relevant to parliamentary oversight, e.g. peacekeeping; demobilization; (re-)integration of military personnel in society; budget control; and procurement and oversight of security and intelligence services; have taken place in all countries of South East Europe, the Caucasus, Russia and Ukraine. Usually broadcast on national television and radio, the launching event/seminar attracts the attention of a wide domestic audience.

The Oversight and Guidance Source Book (2003)

In support of the training seminars for parliamentarians and parliamentary staffers from the EAPC area co-organized by DCAF and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, a *Collection of articles on good practice in parliamentary oversight of the security sector* was introduced at the 2004 Venice Annual Session of the NATO PA and is to become an important tool in the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB) process. Translations of the Source Book into Russian and Ukrainian are in progress.

Parliamentary Staffers Programmes

In co-operation with the NATO PA, DCAF has organized tailor-made training workshops on budget control, peace support operations, intelligence and defence reform. Workshops have been organized for all parliaments in the Caucasus, the State Duma of Russia, the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada, and the parliaments of the western Balkans, Baltic and west African states. DCAF – in co-operation with the NATO PA – funds and trains parliamentary staffers in all South East European parliamentary defence and security committees and seeks to expand this programme in 2005 to the larger Black Sea Region (funding pending).

The Legal-Political Assistance Group (LPAG)

The DCAF Legal-Political Assistance Group (LPAG), of which the NATO PA Secretary General is an honorary member, was set up in 2002 to meet a growing demand from parliaments for assistance with their law-making activities. The LPAG is a non-permanent body of renowned experts on legal and law-making matters who may constructively assist with the theoretical and practical aspects of legislative activity.

DCAF has given its good offices and advice to various parliaments, e.g. the State Union Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro; the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada; the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the Parliament of Macedonia. DCAF's assistance involved, among other things, drawing up expert reports, giving advice in parliamentary hearings, providing a second opinion on draft legislation, as well as reporting on possible improvements on the functioning of parliamentary committee structures.

Inventories and Analysis of Security Sector Relevant Legislation

The LPAG seeks to collate and publish in written and electronic form the collected national security sector laws and make them available to a larger public – as they are often not accessible – in both the national languages and English. LPAG members are invited to analyze and comment on the collected legislation in the light of democratic governance practice. Such collections exist for Russia, Ukraine and Georgia[2].

The Rose-Roth Programme

DCAF experts on Defence and Security Sector Governance and Democratic Oversight have attended and contributed to Rose-Roth seminars and will continue to do so in the future.

Documentations on Best Practice

DCAF – in co-operation with the NATO PA – is envisaging to further support the Defence Institution Building process by making available to interested governments comparative studies on such items as parliamentary oversight legislation, legislation on the ombudsman function, intelligence oversight etc.

Defence Institution Building Programmes

As an extension of existing assistance programmes, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly – in co-operation with DCAF – will organize three courses in the field of defence institution building which will bring together the principal entities with responsibility for the development and implementation of defence and security policy – executive, legislative, and armed forces – the aim being to encourage effective working practices and habits of co-operation. The agenda for these conferences will be developed jointly, and the NATO PA will assume organizational responsibility. These courses will be focussed initially on the South Caucasus with potential application to other regions. Participation in each of the courses is to be determined during 2005 by the parties.

The future

DCAF's 2005-2008 Strategy Paper foresees close co-operation with the NATO PA in all mentioned aspects of this successfully evolving Strategic Partnership. The DCAF presence (from 2005) in Brussels will allow for an even better co-ordination of this successful partnership.

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2. Born, Fluri, Lunn (eds.), *Oversight and Guidance: The Relevance of Parliamentary Oversight for the Security Sector and Its Reform: A Collection of Articles on Foundational Aspects of Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector*, DCAF Document, No. 4, (Geneva/Brussels: DCAF/NATO PA, 2003).

The New Parliamentarians Programme

Svitlana Svyetova
and
David Hobbs

In his presentation to the NATO Summit in Washington in April 1999, the then President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Javier Ruperez (Spain) announced the launching of a young parliamentarians initiative designed to generate and sustain support for the Alliance among upcoming generations of legislators.

The Assembly's members felt that as the Cold War receded into history, NATO's profile had inevitably declined. NATO, however, had adapted to the new strategic environment by adding to its core mission of collective defence a variety of mechanisms and programmes intended to project stability and promote the Alliance's values beyond its own borders.

While the Assembly's members naturally followed NATO's evolution very closely, they believed that efforts should be made to familiarize young and new parliamentarians from member and partner countries with the main challenges to peace and security and with the role that the Alliance was playing in dealing with those challenges. It was also felt that a programme focussed on young and new parliamentarians would help to build an internationally-minded elite of future leaders, aware of the need to sustain the transatlantic "security community".

The first "Young Parliamentarians Programme" took place mainly at NATO Headquarters from 10 to 16 July 2000. The goal was to explain to participants how NATO functions and what it seeks to achieve. The programme thus involved NATO's International Staff, the International Military Staff, and several of the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council. In fact, many of the briefings were provided by NATO's most senior officials, including then Secretary General Lord Robertson of Port Ellen. The programme also included briefings at SHAPE and at the European Union.

Like all subsequent programmes, the first one attracted over 40 parliamentarians from more than 20 nations. Some were already well versed in security issues, while others were being exposed to this area for the first time. They all agreed, however, that the programme was exceptionally informative, and provided many insights into the full and often unsuspected breadth of NATO's activities. For instance, many were surprised to learn about NATO's role in civil emergency planning and disaster relief, and about its programmes to help develop appropriate civil-military relations in many partner nations.

Feedback from participants was extremely positive, with several declaring that the programme had kindled an interest in international relations that they would pursue in their own parliaments.

Each year, the programme has attracted equally positive comments, but it has evolved to reflect the needs of its participants. For instance, in the first programmes, participation was limited to parliamentarians who were under 40 years old, but it became clear that this was excluding parliamentarians who while being over 40 were nevertheless new to parliament or to international responsibilities within their parliaments. Consequently, in 2002 the criteria for participation were modified and it was given its current title, the New Parliamentarians Programme.

It is important to stress that the Programme is in no way an effort to propagandize NATO: the philosophy underpinning the programme is that NATO is a key feature in the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, and its many security and partnership activities merit the attention of anyone involved in debate and discussion. The Programme simply presents the facts about NATO and enables participants to question those who are most directly involved in developing and implementing NATO policy.

According to the Secretary General of the Assembly, Simon Lunn, the Programme "allows us to reach the people who will be making policy for decades to come. It is important that they understand the role that NATO has to play in the future of European security.

New parliamentarians attending the now annual New Parliamentarians programme designed to increase parliamentary awareness of the Alliance and contemporary security challenges. Visit to SHAPE, July 2004.

This is a natural role for the Assembly because one of our core missions is to keep members informed about Alliance issues so that they can exercise effective legislative oversight."

With respect to the role of parliamentarians in security, an important aspect of the Programme has been the crucial contribution to the Programme made by DCAF. As well as providing support to enable parliamentarians from non-member countries to participate in the programme, DCAF also provides briefings on the role of parliamentarians in the democratic control of armed forces. These are backed up by DCAF's many publications on defence and security issues which are made available to participants.

The New Parliamentarians Programme has become one of the Assembly's success stories. As well as helping the Assembly fulfil its role as a link between NATO and parliamentarians, the Programme ensures that – whether they are supportive of NATO or not – participants are better informed about NATO. Finally, the Programme provides an intangible but still real benefit which several experienced Assembly members accurately foresaw would be one of its most important features: the building of contacts between parliamentarians. Through the New Parliamentarians Programme, legislators meet their counterparts from neighbouring states and beyond. Where relations between the nations concerned are strained, this can be one of the few opportunities for such contacts. Although no one can predict where such contacts might lead, based on the experience of this Programme, the direction is unquestionably positive.

* * *

Two Journeys

Doina Ghimici
Former Secretary of the Romanian Delegation.
Member of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo.

Thinking of a manner in which I could summarize my association with the NATO PA, the word *journey* came instantly to my mind. First and foremost, this term could describe the Assembly's own gradual but profound transformation from a parliamentary forum of 16 NATO members into a large interparliamentary organization with several types of membership and different geographic areas of interest; with new objectives, new activities and a greater impact in effect; from the North Atlantic Assembly to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. The NATO PA was not alone in the journey that realized its comprehensive transformation. The process accompanied, but in its own way often preceded, NATO's own transformation.

Of particular significance to me is the direct impact the development of the NAA in the post-Cold War period had on my own country, Romania, as soon as it received the status of Associate member.

By opening up to embrace former communist countries that had embarked on a democratic course, the NAA had decided to assist in various ways the development of the newly born parliamentary institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. The first and most powerful support was the direct involvement of East European parliamentarians in the work of the Assembly.

My first journey with the NATO PA took place in my capacity as the Secretary of an associated delegation. My country, Romania, was the first signatory of the PfP Framework Document, and after requesting NATO membership turned this adherence to the Alliance into a strategic objective. Tremendous energy was spent in order to see this strategic objective so dear to Romanians fulfilled. I was humbly part of the process and spent time and energy persuading and supporting members of my delegation to become associate rapporteurs to different committees and deliver attractive reports. At that time there was a competition among the delegations of candidate countries to obtain associate rapporteur assignments. I remember that our greatest achievement was when at some point in 1999, four out of the then six members of the Romanian delegation served as associate rapporteurs on four committees. "A delegation of rapporteurs" as someone had phrased it. And, I should stress, the International Secretariat was *not* responsible for drafting associate / special reports.

But time passed and that interesting experience belongs to the past. Nevertheless, it allowed a new and more challenging journey to begin.

For the NATO PA, the western Balkans, or more precisely the tragic events that happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, were initially topics for intensive debates, comprehensive reports and inspiring policy recommendations. The NATO PA continued to focus much of its effort and energy on the region, namely by analyzing post-conflict situations and institutional arrangements, and eventually by involving parliamentarians from Serbia and Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina in its activities. The granting of observer status to the parliaments of these two states (Bosnia and Herzegovina in November 2000 and Serbia and Montenegro in May 2002) entailed their inclusion in the Assembly's regular activities and events, including parliamentary assistance programmes.

In 2004, the NATO PA began inviting members of the Assembly of Kosovo – one of the provisional institutions of self-government established pursuant to the Constitutional Framework[1] – as speakers to various committee meetings and Rose-Roth seminars where the Kosovo issue was discussed. The presence of Kosovo members in NATO PA

events and the direct contact with NATO parliamentarians that this facilitated were of enormous importance to them. At the same time, their presence allowed the NATO PA to get a better picture of Kosovo by hearing from the people most directly involved.

The OSCE Mission in Kosovo, as the institution-building pillar of UNMIK, oversees and supports the development of the Assembly of Kosovo to a fully functioning and multi-ethnic legislative body. It also assists this Assembly to establish contacts with neighbouring legislative bodies and take part in interparliamentary events.

Irrespective of Kosovo's provisional status, the participation of Kosovo members in existing regional parliamentary co-operation mechanisms, and a progressive involvement in the activities of various parliamentary organizations, has to be in my view a value added development. This involvement should not be seen in terms of conveying a political message, i.e. as a "political" involvement, but rather as a "technical" involvement, as a learning instrument or a capacity building tool. In this sense, the invitation for three Kosovo participants – two Kosovo-Albanians representing the ruling coalition and the opposition and one Kosovo Serb – to participate in the most recent NATO PA New Parliamentarians Programme (NPP) was strongly welcomed. This invitation came at a most appropriate time because although the Kosovo assembly has no competence in the field of security and defence, the territory of Kosovo is host to a substantial contingent of NATO forces who are expected to remain for a long time. In addition, UNMIK is preparing to transfer new competencies to the Kosovo provisional institutions of self-government in the field of security/policing. The Kosovo Assembly should, therefore, prepare itself to exercise democratic oversight of the government.

Then NATO PA President Rafael Estrella (right) with the then democratic opposition leader and now Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova during an official visit, May 2001.

The Kosovo members, who along with several members of the National Assembly of Serbia and the Assembly of Montenegro attended the NPP as parliamentary guests, had the opportunity not only to learn about NATO political and military structure, its comprehensive transformation, the CFSP and the military dimension of the European Union, but also to get acquainted with democratic security and defence policies and parliamentary oversight practices. As briefing sessions were highly interactive, the Kosovo members were particularly pleased to sit alongside parliamentarians from NATO countries, to receive briefings by top NATO officials, to listen to intrusive queries and to pose questions themselves.

However, even more important was the opportunity they had to move beyond the limitations of domestic politics into global issues, to expand their horizons, to see Kosovo issues from a broader perspective and to assess more realistically the way ahead. In addition, they took the opportunity to establish personal contacts, and dialogue even with colleagues from the Assembly of Serbia and the Serbia and Montenegro Parliament. To outsiders this may appear a minor detail. However, to those who face on a daily basis the intransigent and often obstructive mood still prevailing in this part of Europe, the significance is entirely different. The positive implications of such apparently small steps could be enormous as it is on such steps that confidence is built. I was pleased to see the NATO PA acting, albeit indirectly, in this role of confidence builder.

In conclusion, without counting the NATO PA's own journey, for me there have so far been two types of association with the NATO PA – two different journeys. As life is in essence a continual expedition, the likelihood of additional involvement and future journeys remains a constant possibility.

1. Under UNMIK/REG/2001/9, Section 1.5, the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government are: "(a) Assembly; (b) President of Kosovo; (c) Government; (d) Courts; and (e) Other bodies and institutions set forth in this Constitutional Framework."

Chapter 6 Remember Kosovo. The Evolution of the Assembly

A scene from Kosovo taken during an Assembly visit, April 2005.

Javier Ruperez
Executive Director, Counter-Terrorism Committee, Executive Directorate, United Nations. Former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Former Head of the Spanish Delegation. Former President of the OSCE PA.

At the end of the day, when I try and remember the most salient aspects of my tenure as President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, it is Kosovo that comes to the forefront of my musings. Certainly many other things complete the picture of what I consider to be one of my richest personal and political experiences. My involvement with the Assembly had started way back, even before Spain had become a member of NATO. It must have been between 1977 and 1979 – I am writing on the basis of my recollections, without papers or documents to illuminate my memory – when a delegation of the recently elected Spanish Parliament participated as an observer to a session of the NATO PA. It was so early that the Socialists had decided not to take part in those approaches to the unofficial parliamentary wing of the Atlantic Alliance. Oslo was the place. And it was to be years later, after my short and fruitful time in Brussels as Spain's first Ambassador to NATO, between 1982 and 1983, and after a number of political meanderings, that I became fully involved with the workings of the body then still shyly called "NATO parliamentarians".

But Kosovo was very much the centre of my concerns, of our concerns, at the time of my Presidency. Odd, one would think. That territory was clearly "out of area" and, yet, it was going to become the first case for the Alliance to enter into armed conflict. In addition, the reasons for the Alliance to use their recourse to the use of force were not those traditionally contemplated – aggression, self defence, unprovoked attack – but one not to be found in the 1949 Washington Treaty: the capital sin of "ethnic cleansing", the violation of human rights of a minority, in that particular case of the Albanian community living in the region. After the violent conflicts which heralded the end of Yugoslavia, and before the bloodbath was completely over, Kosovo was to represent to the Alliance and its members, mainly its

European members, the ultimate fear, that of an unstoppable political and territorial instability in the southeastern part of the continent. The obvious lack of political and historical vision with which Western Europe and NATO had dealt with the crisis in Bosnia, before the arrangements at Dayton were imposed on the belligerents, made of Kosovo, *par la force des choses*, the issue where no mistakes could be allowed. And the Atlantic Alliance, for the first time in its decades old history, went to war.

It was not the first time that I had looked into human rights questions as problems with bilateral, multilateral and even security implications. I had been one of the negotiators of the Helsinki Final Act, I had been the Spanish Ambassador to the then CSCE Madrid session between l980 and 1982 and, just before being elected as President of the NATO PA, between 1996 and 1998, I had been President of the OSCE PA – the "Conference" had mutated into the "Organization". Suffice it to say that human rights and fundamental freedoms had become a central issue in the relations among and between states. There is no need to recall how both NATO and the CSCE/OSCE were going to see their own initial premises altered by the sudden and unexpected phasing out of the USSR – up to the point where the mandates of the two organisations seemed to converge around the requirements of the time: a bit more of a "civilian" type of security, as opposed to the "military" version of it; democracy and human rights, as a basis for the new international order; and a promising, if poorly defined, era of co-operation and understanding. Besides, the OSCE was the natural refuge for all the recently born states resulting from the break-up of the USSR and of Yugoslavia – all their territories were already included in the previous and vast borders of the Organization – and NATO was soon to extend its reach towards the East, with several encompassing co-operation schemes. As a matter of fact, the NATO PA was going to be the first member of the family to engage the members of parliament of the still existing Soviet Union in a dialogue that was soon to become one of the permanent fixtures and most valuable features of the work of the Assembly.

The military actions of the Alliance in Kosovo were going to cast a gloomy shadow on those promising developments. And the NATO PA dutifully, and sometimes painfully, reflected the predicament of the moment. In fact, the records of the Assembly show how full its plate was during the last years of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties with the tragedy of Yugoslavia and its results. At the risk of being contradicted, I would dare to say that the collective sensitivity of the members of the NATO PA was far more acute in the matters of Yugoslavia than that of the governments of the Allies. Not that it could make a significant difference, given the marginal role that the PA used to play in the decision making process of NATO. A better understanding of the respective view points, though, might have been conducive to a more adequate and prompt reaction by the Alliance to issues which were dramatically developing into matters of life and death. Later on, when Kosovo

was at stake and the planes of NATO were bombing Belgrade, the Parliamentary Assembly, not without discussion, offered support to the actions decided by the Atlantic Council. Those are the moments I most vividly remember of my days as President of the NATO PA. And where, I feel, the NATO PA did make a difference. Rarely has the Assembly made headlines. Nor did it do so in the case of Kosovo. But surely it would have made headlines had it decided to manifest a will opposed to the military intervention.

Dresden and Warsaw are the places that come to my mind when putting together my memories of those tense days. The uncertainties of the war were very clearly visible in our societies and parliaments. And they crossed party political and geographical lines: not all the Europeans were in favour of the intervention, but the same division prevailed within the American delegates. The dithering in the Council, not to speak of the different sensitivities in the United States – the White House versus the "war by committee", the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs against Wesley Clark; the robust opposition of Russia to the intervention; the fact that the Security Council of the United Nations had not approved it; these were factors of immense complication at the time that NATO, for the first time in its half century, had decided to launch a military attack.

The NATO PA debates Kosovo, May 1999 at the Warsaw spring session. The author chairing the extraordinary debate on Kosovo with Assembly Vice-President Frank Cook (United Kingdom), Rapporteur for the Assembly's declaration on Kosovo.

I, for my part, did not have serious doubts about the need to intervene. The political and military machinery of the Alliance, which had been engaged so belatedly in Bosnia, had to be put to good use were we to stop and redress the various disasters associated with the death of Yugoslavia and the survival of Milosevic. At the meetings where we discussed the issue, which I remember as being long and heated, I did my best, and succeeded, in getting approval for resolutions favourable to what the military forces of the Alliance were doing. Javier Solana was then Secretary General, and he knew how to sail through the troubled waters of the moment. By sheer coincidence it was two Spanish nationals who had to do their best in putting together the wishes and wills of the members of the Alliance, governments and parliaments, at its most critical juncture. It is also worth remembering that we were both the first Spaniards to hold our respective posts.

I would like to believe that the NATO PA's active role in the Kosovo issue helped to give new relevance to its role vis-à-vis the "governmental" NATO. Already before that, and

at the time of the changes within the Warsaw Pact, the Parliamentary Assembly showed no small degree of flexibility and forbearance in attracting parliamentarians of the countries of the Eastern bloc. Later on, after Kosovo, the PA promptly committed efforts and resources to foresee the role the Alliance would play in the twenty-first century and the response to be given to the "new threats". I well remember my address to the Washington Summit in 1999, the first ever on any such occasion by a President of the Assembly in that sole capacity, given with the optimistic background of the success in combating Milosevic and what we understood to be bright prospects for the peaceful development of international relations. Terrorism was one of the threats to be dealt with. Just one of them. Little did we know what the future had in store for us within a very few years.

The Assembly had dealt with terrorism related issues several times before 11 September 2001. And certainly it has done so since that date. NATO itself has been active in trying to ascertain what role to play in the fight against the modern scourge. In many ways the Alliance, and certainly the PA, will find its future relevance in the capacity to properly use its political and military assets in that perspective. They are not the only international organizations looking for ways to better co-operate in the common endeavour and, at the same time, to adapt themselves to the demands of the present times. But the NATO composite, unlike other communities, is able to deliver in many different and complementary fields. And it is precisely there where it is urgent to understand the holistic nature of the treatment that must be given to terrorism.

My recent and present experience at the United Nations has reminded me of the value and power of international co-operation in that field. The Security Council, already before 11 September 2001, but certainly with unparalleled determination since that date, has set the rules to be followed in the path of closing loopholes which might eventually became tools for terrorists. I would like to see NATO and its PA actively echo among its members the terms which at present form the fabric of the global approach. The choice is large and nothing has been excluded: legal measures, financial controls, law enforcement co-operation, intelligence and information sharing, etc. And notwithstanding the compulsory character of the decisions taken by the Council, the help of international organizations is vital to ensure the required and needed compliance. Nothing would please me more than to see the NATO PA adopting resolutions addressed to national parliaments encouraging respect and implementation of such SCRs as 1373, 1540 and 1566, among others. Though I am sure that even without my wishes the ever-alert members of the NATO PA, my former colleagues and good friends, have already been successfully exploring that path.

I served at the NATO PA for more than ten years and in different capacities. To be elected President of the Assembly was, quite naturally, the culmination of my labours and a deeply appreciated honour. More than appropriate was my farewell to the Assembly, when

King and Queen for the day. The author and his wife Rakela at the mediaeval celebration during the Spring Session in Budapest, May 2000.

my posting as Spanish Ambassador to Washington had already been made public. Not far from Budapest, where the NATO PA held its 2000 spring session, our Hungarian hosts had organized a mediaeval celebration. At the end of it, at the prodding of my colleagues and without previous notice, my wife Rakela and myself were crowned King and Queen of the feast. (Do I have to remember, in the catalogue of my recognitions to the NATO PA, that I first met my wife in Brussels, where she was working for the NATO PA as a research assistant?). But as well as the pomp and circumstance my memories include the places discovered and visited, the people I came to know and tried to help, the things I learned, the world whose size and depth were generously opened for my curiosity and inspection. All those invaluable things will be forever associated in my memory and in my life with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. And with the names I fondly cherish of those with whom I shared work, illusions and ideals: Genton, Tertrais, Guicherd, Lucas, Roth, Cook, Corterier, Bouvard, Lunn, Bereuter, Borderas, Moya, Hobbs, Petersen, Muñoz Alonso, and so many others. To the NATO PA, to them all, thank you for the beautiful ride. And good luck. It is well deserved.

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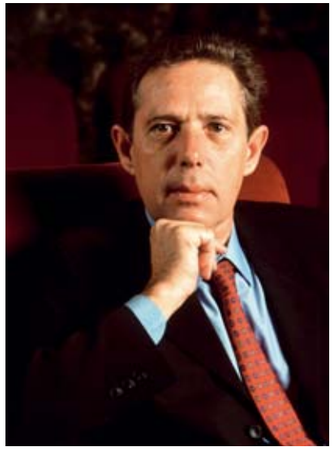
CHAPTER 7 Relations with the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

Acting President Tom Bliley (United States) meeting the leadership of the NATO-Russia Joint Monitoring Group, Lubov Sliska (Russia), Victor Ozerov (Russia), Rafael Estrella (Spain) and Simon Lunn (Secretary General), November 2000.



Rafael Estrella
Head of the Spanish Delegation. Former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Former Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee.

...Where the East is the East and the West is the West and they meet.
Orham Pamuk

If the Soviet Union was during the Cold War *la raison d'être* for NATO, the Union and its main heir, Russia, became after 1989 our indispensable partner for security and stability in Europe. When contemplated in perspective, building from zero a co-operative relationship of mutual understanding and partnership with Russia and its Parliament implies understanding and addressing not just the facts but also the essential role played by perceptions. I would venture to suggest that with all its shortfalls this has been the most serious challenge faced by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly throughout its existence. From a personal viewpoint, it was undoubtedly one of the most intense political experiences.

When today we witness the debate on how to tackle the gulf of cultural distance and misperceptions that separate us from the Islamic world, it is not impossible to find many elements in common with the way NATO and the Soviet Union looked at each other at the outset of the post-cold war era. The choices we made for dialogue, and ultimately, for a true partnership, were difficult. But they were decisive in order to move away from the possibility, however remote, of a clash between East and West, to promote a shared area of security and stability and, in the end, to support those who, in the Soviet Union, advocated a true change towards democracy and freedom.

The Assembly had no clear vision of the final outcome when it initiated its relations with the institutions of the then Soviet Union, in the last years of the Gorbachev era. The ongoing process in that country raised contradictory feelings of both sympathy and scepticism

among NATO parliamentarians. Despite the goodwill expressed by the undefined desire to "start knowing each other", the poor improvement in democracy was one reason why there was no clear view of what sort of relationship to build with those who for decades had been the enemy – indeed, the threat against which NATO had been created. We soon learned, to our amazement, this same perception, albeit from the other side of the curtain, also dominated the attitude of Soviet Union officers towards NATO. The Alliance was perceived in both its military power and policies as a threat to the interests of the Soviet Union. However, both sides understood and assumed candidly the need to open a dialogue even with limited goals.

In chapter 3, Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith offers an accurate account of the first visit of an Assembly delegation to the Soviet Union (July 1989), hosted by the Supreme Soviet. As a participant in that historical event, I was able to experience at first hand these uneasy initial exchanges on the way each side perceived the nature and the aims of the other, and the profound gap in perception and understanding of our respective organizations. However, this was also the time we started developing a network of personal relations that, in the long run, were essential to create a basis of mutual understanding and of increasing agreement. The unprecedented visit of an Assembly delegation to the Soviet Union might well be considered as a cautious, and not without suspicions, first swing of the gate. Only four months later, at the Rome Annual session, General Vladimir Lobov, the WTO Chief of Staff, addressed the Defence and Security Committee as a guest speaker. From then on, the participation of Russian representatives in Assembly activities and the visits by the Assembly's committees to the Soviet Union increased at a constant pace, and continued through the early 1990s.

The Assembly itself had also to adapt its own functioning to be able to respond to the new situation. The November 1990 Resolution on *New Regional Responsibilities for a Transformed Alliance*, created the status of Associate Delegation, which would be granted to the Soviet Union, thus facilitating the participation of its representatives in Assembly activities. The collapse of the Soviet Union effectively meant a fresh start in relations with its principal successor state, Russia, as well as with other former Soviet republics such as Ukraine; associate status would be gradually granted to most of them.

Within this new framework, from May 1993, the Russian Supreme Soviet participated actively in Assembly work. Russian parliamentarians made clear from the start that they would not limit themselves to being passive observers but, on the contrary, they seized the opportunity to contribute reports and present amendments. This right proved to be extremely useful for developing a better mutual understanding, as well as for identifying the areas of contention. At the same time, Assembly committees also made regular visits to Moscow relevant to their respective field of interest.

The *demarche* initiated with Russia by the Assembly was regarded with suspicion by some of the delegations from countries aspiring to join NATO. Controversy between those and the Russian delegates was – and in some cases still is – frequent during the Assembly sessions. However, this has not prevented the Assembly from progressing in its relations with the Russian Parliament. On the contrary, the Assembly has become a unique forum in which parliamentarians from Russia and from former Soviet republics or former allies meet and address their differences.

Jan Petersen (Norway) and Vladimir Ryzhkov (Russia) at an early meeting of the NATO-Russia Joint Monitoring Group.

In the early years, the Russian delegation included figures such as Sergei Stepashin, Yevgeni Kozhokin, Vyacheslav Nikonov and Vladimir Ryzhkov. All of these were committed to co-operation with NATO, but all viewed the developing momentum of NATO enlargement as a negative step. While the argument most often raised was the objection to a military alliance moving closer to Russia's border, there was also a clear sense that Russia felt excluded from the process and that it should have been entitled to a veto. It is worth recalling that Russia was at a very early stage of a transition from the world power it had been during the Cold War to a European – and Asian – power with its traditional enemy – NATO – becoming a rejuvenated partner. Furthermore, the Russians still seemed to resent what they considered the loss of the Soviet Empire.

The suggestion that Russia participate in Partnership for Peace as a means to compensate for this exclusion also received a lukewarm response: "Polish officers teaching Russians how to fight?" was one Russian politician's dismissive reaction on the merits of Russia's participation in PfP. It was evident that Russian representatives tended to view NATO under the old Cold War pattern. It was equally clear that, from our side, we had not succeeded in explaining to them the profound changes – political, strategic and military – that NATO was experiencing and that were even affecting the very nature of the Alliance. That is perhaps the reason why our Russian counterparts repeatedly raised the point that since we were no longer enemies, NATO, like the Warsaw Pact, should be dissolved.

Despite these deep rooted suspicions, the Russian side was always responsive and active in efforts to enhance the relationship. Among the diverse initiatives jointly agreed was an

annual meeting – whose adequacy is now under review – of three Assembly committees in and with the Russian Parliament.

However, while relations between NATO and Russia showed a growing dynamism, things were clearly moving at a slower pace at the parliamentary level. The Russian Parliamentarians frequently took a "free ride" which allowed them to be highly critical – at no political price – of the moves made by their Government in relations with NATO. This prevented it from taking further steps which the Duma, in particular, considered excessive concessions to the Alliance. As a means to overcome this situation, following the signing of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the creation of the Joint Permanent Council (PJC), the proposal by the Assembly to establish a parliamentary Joint Monitoring Group to follow and assess together the work of the PJC was agreed to. The Group, comprising an equal number of Assembly and Russian legislators meeting twice a year in Moscow and Brussels, proved a highly effective mechanism to exercise a degree of mutual legislative oversight of the Founding Act. The main achievement offered by this new framework was that it allowed discussion, for the first time, to go beyond the general geopolitical debate and move into the examination of concrete aspects of existing co-operation between NATO and Russia, such as science and technology, which had been neglected by Russian parliamentarians and poorly known by members of the Assembly. This step was essential in order to start crafting a sense of togetherness, of shared responsibility over the specific areas of NATO-Russia co-operation and, of no less importance, the development of personal relations.

The NATO-Russia Joint Monitoring Group at NATO headquarters being briefed by senior NATO and Russian military representatives, 1998.

Co-operation with Russia against the background of activities involving countries preparing for NATO membership was not always easy. However, it came to an abrupt halt when NATO operations against Serbian forces were initiated in Kosovo in 1999. A letter from the Speaker of the Duma confirmed that there could be no business as usual in view of what was defined as a NATO aggression. After a decade of continuous improvement, the turn of the century saw NATO-Russia parliamentary relations formally frozen. With the Duma representatives absent, only the Council of the Federation decided to maintain a reduced delegation thanks to the determination of its leader, Victor Ozerov, who

throughout that difficult time courageously raised his voice at the Assembly in criticism of NATO military operations in Kosovo but who, above all, offered to some of us his friendship.

The creation in Rome (May 2002) of the NATO-Russia Council was a major step forward in co-operation and generated a new momentum also in parliamentary relations. Mirroring the Council, the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee was created to allow discussions at the level of 27, and became the main current framework for direct NATO-Russia parliamentary relations. However, given the nature of parliamentary work, the scope of the committee is limited to meeting twice a year. Discussions focus on issues of mutual concern and interest – currently terrorism, but also the Caucasus and Central Asia, two regions which Russian parliamentarians approached initially from a Russian internal or "back yard" perspective and therefore were reluctant to incorporate in common discussions, a reluctance which has now been largely mitigated.

The balance of the work within the Parliamentary Committee is on the whole positive. However, despite the emphasis on 27 equal partners the meetings within this framework never really lose a NATO and Russia "them and us" nature. In the overall relationship, there remains a profound gap in political perceptions, with Russian legislators continuing to challenge the role of NATO in today's security environment – including terrorism – or even questioning NATO's mere existence. In particular, the membership of the Baltic countries is still hard for them to accept, a reluctance which is usually expressed through criticism on the policies towards the Russian minorities in these countries.

The relevance attached by NATO parliamentarians to close co-operation with Russian representatives has also, together with enlargement, raised the Assembly's profile within NATO, achieving an unprecedented fluid relationship with the North Atlantic Council and with the Secretary General. This enhanced profile, initiated with Javier Solana, rose markedly with Lord Robertson. If one of Solana's main achievements was pioneering NATO-Russia relations with the Founding Act, Lord Robertson faced the difficult task of rebuilding these relations which had profoundly deteriorated after the Kosovo crisis. With that goal as a top priority for the Alliance, he soon understood the challenge posed by the extremely negative attitude towards NATO that dominated the Russian Parliament, and willingly accepted and co-operated with our initiative to contribute to that endeavour. Lord Robertson deserves particular mention as a dedicated supporter of the Assembly. He publicly acknowledged the role played by the Assembly in the recovery of that relationship and the Assembly's active role in pushing for NATO enlargement. He also willingly agreed to establish new mechanisms; for example, more regular and effective meetings with the NAC, which have given the Assembly a more salient profile within NATO's environment, a profile which Jaap de Hoop Scheffer has fully maintained.

The current leaders of the Russian delegation, Lubov Sliska and Victor Ozerov, are both committed to Assembly-Russia relations and are determined to enhance the relationship wherever possible and seek maximum involvement of the Russian delegation. Victor Ozerov deserves a special mention because he was an early participant who saw clearly the value of co-operation and he has sustained his interest and involvement over the years, including, as recalled above, informal contacts during the Kosovo crisis.

There is much common ground and good personal relations to build on. Yet, we have a long way to go. Perhaps in our expectations we underestimated the problem. Russia has found it harder than expected to make its way through difficult times and to assume its role as a relevant European power in a Europe where nations no longer fight each other nor compete for military superiority. Evidently, the Cold War and the collapse of communism and of the Soviet Union have left perceptions and psychological scars which it will take generations to eradicate. The commitment to co-operation conceals a fundamental scepticism about, and even hostility to, the Alliance, a feeling which will only vanish as Russia grows in welfare, political accountability and, in the end, self-confidence. Perhaps the need to co-operate in areas of mutual concern will also contribute to slowly overcoming these doubts and will demonstrate that NATO is a partner, not a competitor or adversary. However, this will take more time than we thought and can only be done through dialogue and exchange. The Assembly's co-operation with Russia will surely continue to play an important role in this.

Signing of a Co-operation Agreement between the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the Russian Delegation to the Assembly, October 2001.

* * *

Lubov Sliska
Head of the Russian State Duma Delegation. First Deputy Speaker of the Russian Duma.

Much that is contradictory has been written about the past, present and future of relations between NATO and Russia in both western and Russian media. The many analysts and political scientists expressing their views on this topic have not always been at one regarding the guidelines, priorities and advantages for either side, the specific tasks and rates of development of co-operation, and sometimes even whether it was desirable in itself.

In particular there is the view that it might be possible to dispense with such relations, relying on bilateral links on military lines with the states which are party to the North Atlantic Alliance.

The heavy forty-year burden of mutual distrust and suspicion that accumulated while our country and NATO were political opponents and enemies in military terms is a factor in this.

At the beginning of the 1990s constructive relations with the North Atlantic Alliance had not been established, although at that time the Alliance had become somewhat more transparent in the military sense. Of course this improved the European security position, but there was no question of substantive co-operation with the Alliance, the more so because the Alliance's military machine had begun to grow stronger by including new members and had come closer to Russian borders; this had an adverse effect on Russian society's view of NATO.

These extraneous factors were still present after the signing in May 1997 of the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security between the Russian Federation and NATO. The first permanent body for co-operation between the Alliance and Russia – the Permanent Joint Council (PJC) – was set up in accordance with the provisions of this Act for consultations on a wide range of security issues, and in particular on issues of common concern. A range of unilateral and mutual obligations on showing restraint in the military area was a vital constituent of the Founding Act. A regular exchange of views on security problems in Europe began.

The complex process of building partnership relations between NATO and Russia was begun on the PJC platform. It is sufficient to recall the situation with regard to NATO enlargement in 1999, then the events surrounding Kosovo, as a consequence of which links with NATO were frozen. To large extent it was stretching the point even to call dialogue in the PJC a dialogue, because it went no further than taking turns to state rigidly defined positions. This left no room for manœuvre in devising and taking decisions, to say nothing of any joint action along lines indisputably of common interest.

However, PJC work made it possible to acquire the initial skills for joint discussions and joint work. At the same time there was less scepticism in the Alliance itself regarding the

possibilities for collaboration with Russia, and the understanding grew that it was more efficient to solve key problems in security with us, not in the teeth of Russian views, but it should be noted that there was no increase in stability, the essential factor in international relations.

The NATO-Russia summit in Rome on 28 May 2002, during which the Declaration entitled "NATO-Russia relations: A New Quality" was signed, initiated an essentially new stage in mutual relations. This declaration provided for the creation of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), replacing the PJC and transforming it into the basic structure for the development of NATO-Russia relations.

As a matter of fact, it was the realities of life (and it is appropriate here to recall the tragic events of 11 September 2001) that provided the answers to many of the sceptics' questions and doubts and suggested what had to be done. In recent years we have witnessed unprecedented changes in the world and in the European arena.

With the passing of the Cold War era, and with it the stereotyped thought patterns of confrontation due to the image of an enemy, and the suspicion and distrust, we began to see more clearly that we are living in a complex and interdependent world, that we are threatened by a new generation of common challenges, above all the threat of international terrorism. It is now understood that global risks call for an appropriate response by combining the efforts of the entire world community for the sake of overall security. This has predetermined the logic of setting up and continuing the development of a new stage in the development of NATO-Russia co-operation.

Russian parliamentarians work on the basis that the North Atlantic Alliance has been, is and for the foreseeable future will remain one of the key factors in world and European politics, directly influencing the security situation near our borders.

We take account of the important changes and reforms in NATO itself, including the abolition of the system of linear defence designed to oppose the USSR during the Cold War times. We also take into account the fact that the geographical limits of NATO activities have been considerably extended. The Alliance has been active in Afghanistan and is training personnel for security forces in Iraq. A decision to refocus partnership programmes on the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia was taken at the 2003 Istanbul Summit.

In these circumstances our relations with NATO are changing substantially, the principal contributing factor being constructive and fruitful work by the NRC. The vital distinguishing features of the Council are the principles of equality and due regard for areas of common interest in practical work on joint evaluation of problems and threats; in developing machinery for responding to these threats and problems; and implementing agreements by way of joint machinery.

We see a substantial advance in the development of political dialogue and in the effectiveness of exclusively practical measures to enhance security in the Euro-Atlantic space. The NRC is becoming more and more a platform for discussion where better mutual understanding is reached on the basis of the principles of equality, common interest and well-defined operating rules for these mechanisms, and approaches to problem-solving are brought closer together. The NATO-Russia Council is no longer called "the twenty": there are now twenty-seven participants.

We note with satisfaction the substantial progress made this year in the NATO-Russia Council format in countering terrorism. Very important measures to combat terrorism and other challenges to security in the Euro-Atlantic space have been prepared and applied in the last few months alone. Successful joint exercises such as "Kaliningrad-2004" (to perfect co-operation in managing the consequences of a major industrial disaster), "Avariya-2004" (testing nuclear weapon storage security measures) and procedural exercises at NATO headquarters to perfect the joint peacekeeping concept have been carried out.

In our opinion, the first NATO-Russia Council meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers in an enlarged format "the 27" in Brussels on 2 April 2004, and the talks in Moscow involving Vladimir V. Putin, President of the Russian Federation, and Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Secretary General of NATO, on 7 April 2004 have enabled us, on the whole without loss, to get through the difficult period resulting from the next enlargement of the Alliance. Confirmation of guarantees of military restraint, including restraint in the context of the CFE Treaty, have created the essential prerequisites for the enlarged NATO-Russia Council to continue its work.

There has also been progress in connection with our concerns about military infrastructure modernisation in the Baltic countries after their admission to the Alliance. Inspections of military sites have been carried out there in accordance with the 1999 Vienna Document on Confidence-and Security-building Measures, which have reduced the level of uncertainty. It seems that special confidence-building measures in terms of transparency and incident prevention along the line of contact between the armed forces of Russia and NATO might be a useful addition.

Another positive feature is that today the work of the NATO-Russia Council is based on equality and directed towards finding joint solutions and defining joint action over a wide range of security problems. This also implies joint responsibility for decisions taken jointly.

The ranges of practical co-operation programmes by many of the ministries and departments concerned now being implemented are increasing. More than 20 specialized groups, each of which aims for concrete results, in particular in carrying out a number of major projects, have been set up under the aegis of the Council and operate on a permanent basis. We

Members of the Russian Delegation at a Rose-Roth Seminar in Bucharest, October 2001.

are following with interest the work on theatre missile defence (TMD), on ensuring non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery systems, co-ordinating the procedures for joint crisis management operations and the creation of a common airspace monitoring and air traffic control system. The development of co-operation on checking the drug threat emerging from Afghanistan is a promising trend.

We are pleased with the results of the NRC session at Foreign Minister level in Brussels on 9 December 2004, during which the priorities for practical co-operation in responding to new threats were defined. The Action Plan on Terrorism approved by the Council is particularly important. This is a qualitative breakthrough. We are moving on from declarations to collective practical action, including the use of military means to counter the general threat from terrorism.

The Plan provides for three levels of co-operation: prevention of terrorist threats; direct action against them; and co-operation in managing the consequences of actual terrorist attacks. It is important that the measures set out in the Plan are integrated and cover the most varied areas, such as exchange of information; exercises and training for antiterrorist detachments; the joint development of detectors of explosives; establishing effective systems for responding to the hijacking of aircraft; and much else besides. Urgent application of the planned measures will guarantee the successful implementation of the Plan.

Documents have been signed on Russia's participation in "Active Endeavour", NATO's counter-terrorist operation in the Mediterranean region. After our experience of co-operation in the Balkans, this is an important new avenue of practical co-operation in the joint effort to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Of course, it is not all plain sailing in our relations with the Alliance. We still have concerns about the ongoing modernization of military infrastructures in the territory of new Alliance members and the lack of progress in bringing the adapted CFE Treaty into effect. We are convinced that the Council format is conducive to straight talking on existing problems and finding joint solutions, which helps to improve the political climate throughout the Euro-Atlantic space.

Thus the NATO-Russia Council machinery has been set up and has proved its vitality and efficiency. Russia's collaboration with NATO is becoming ever richer in content, thanks to the well-chosen formula of a non-politicised equal partnership and the well-defined rules for the work of the NRC. The tasks set at the 2002 Rome summit are being completed successfully, creating the indisputable requisites for moving NATO-Russia relations to a new, more advanced stage.

We are deeply convinced that, with all the differences that exist in Russia's and NATO's tactical and geopolitical priorities, it is beyond dispute that we have a fairly wide area in which our interests coincide. Europe can have no future without Russia, without Russia's active participation in the processes now taking place on our continent.

The parliamentary dimension is undoubtedly vital in building potential for NATO-Russia co-operation. Russian deputies take an active part in the work of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA), including joint sessions in various committees.

Our parliamentarians' involvement in the work of the NATO PA provides a good opportunity for exchanging views on a variety of European and international security issues, for devising common approaches to priority tasks in combating terrorism, drug trafficking and trading in people and in anticipating and managing the consequences of natural and industrial disasters.

Russian parliamentarians take an active part in the work of the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee (NRPC) and in other NATO PA-led activities. Appropriate memoranda on co-operation within the NATO PA framework have been signed with a number of Assembly member country delegations, in particular with Italy, Spain and Portugal.

The discussion of issues in the development of NATO-Russia collaboration, European security (including topics from the CFE Treaty), combating international terrorism, the proliferation of WMD and managing the situation in Afghanistan and Iraq is an important element in working meetings of our senators and deputies with NATO PA parliamentarians.

Assembly members and Russian deputies monitor NRC decisions in the NRPC. Issues connected with the situation around Kaliningrad and guaranteeing human rights in the Baltic countries are also examined.

We are giving the executive in our countries appropriate assistance through the production of reports and resolutions, providing a stimulus to the expansion and strengthening of multilateral co-operation in responding to new challenges, and helping to reinforce the basis of treaties and law on which links with NATO are founded. The delegation of Russian parliamentarians has an increasingly high profile in discussions on these reports and resolutions.

NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, has declared repeatedly that developing the partnership with Russia will be one of NATO's priorities. We are convinced that the further expansion of political dialogue and practical co-operation between NATO and Russia is not only in the interests of greater stability and security in our common Euro-Atlantic space, but in the last analysis also helps to strengthen our bilateral links and to promote constructive co-operation between the Russian Federation and the North Atlantic Alliance.

Russian parliamentarians are ready to make a fresh contribution to achieving this end.

* * *

Victor Ozerov
Head of the Russian Federation Council Delegation.

Ten years ago partnership with NATO seemed impracticable. This comes as no surprise: we began our dialogue after the ending of the "Cold War", bearing a heavy burden of mutual distrust and suspicion.

Times have changed: we are now different, and the world is different. The "Cold War" epoch is long over, and with its passing the stereotypes of confrontational thought are being swept away; though this is a painfully slow process.

We have all come to a better realisation that we live in a complex and interdependent world, in which the common challenges of a new generation threaten us. The time has come for an understanding that global risks are apocalyptic in nature and call for appropriate responses, above all through the combined efforts of the entire world community.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly is making a real contribution to solving world problems. By participating in the work of the NATO PA, the Russian Delegation has extended and strengthened Russia's interparliamentary links with NATO member states, and with associate members of the NATO PA. We have gained invaluable experience from our work in NATO PA committees and plenary sessions. Our colleagues hear and respect us. They have been frequent guests in Moscow and in other Russian cities. Our amendments to resolutions and reports and our contributions have become standard features of parliamentary discourse, and we all value this highly. We have made many friends among colleagues from Europe and America, who are helping us to adjust to the work of the NATO PA. All this has led to our relations becoming more trusting and transparent.

The steps that have been taken to bring our positions closer together have borne fruit. Let me give some examples. In 1998 a NATO Parliamentary Assembly-Russian Federation Federal Assembly Joint Working Group was set up to monitor the NATO-Russia Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security. The NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee was set up following the creation of the NATO-Russia Council (the parliamentary equivalent of the "twenty") in 2002. These were joint positive decisions within the NATO PA framework. The parliamentary dimension of the NATO-Russia Council became firmly established as a vital stimulus to the development of an ongoing NATO-Russia political dialogue.

It is pleasing to see that outward-looking, dedicated discussions on urgent problems in international and European security in the course of regular meetings of legislators in the NATO PA format have become an integral part of NATO-Russia understanding.

We note with satisfaction that mutual understanding is being reached in the course of working meetings of Russian parliamentarians with their NATO PA colleagues on vital issues

such as combating international terrorism and the spread of WMD and the position with regard to arms control. The situation in Afghanistan, Iran, the Mediterranean region, the Caucasus and the Balkans is also the focus of attention. A certain amount of progress has been made on these complex issues and our partnership relations have been considerably strengthened.

The positive examples of practical collaboration between Russia and NATO are worthy of attention. In a spirit of goodwill, Russia is assisting our western partners in the conduct of operations in Afghanistan. Russia is supplying intelligence data and is granting the right to enter Russian airspace as well as the right of transit overland. During the last few years NATO-Russia co-operation in the vital area of peacekeeping has been developing quite effectively. Practical recommendations on developing co-operation within the NATO-Russia Council framework on crisis management issues have been worked out under the aegis of the NATO-Russia Council's Joint Working Group on Peacekeeping.

Important advances have also been made in other areas of our joint work.

It is good to see that antiterrorism has become an integral part of co-operation between NATO and Russia. We have come to a common understanding on combating terrorism. Apart from discussing this issue in all bodies of the Alliance, practical steps are being taken on responding to possible natural disasters and catastrophes due to terrorism, for example: "Bogorodsk-2002" (Noginsk, Moscow *oblast*) was a large-scale joint exercise on neutralising a terrorist attack at a chemical plant and "Avariya-2004" (Olenegorsk, Murmansk *oblast*), an exercise on ensuring the safety of nuclear weapons in emergencies attended by NATO observers, was held in August 2004.

Collaboration has begun on various aspects of military reform, such as the management of human and financial resources and planning force structures. Work on a joint project for the retraining of Russian service personnel transferred to the reserve is proceeding successfully.

However, when speaking of progress in our relations I am forced to observe that we have not been entirely successful in banishing the old stereotypes. First and foremost, they are due to a measure of mutual distrust, and we have a right to refer to this. It is sufficient to recall the events of 1999, connected with the unauthorised use of military force by the Alliance in the former Yugoslavia.

In addition, the NATO PA is aware of our negative attitude to the enlargement of the North Atlantic Alliance, including concerns regarding the NATO-Baltics-CFE Treaty situation. Alliance action in deploying forces and material in the territory of its new members is a particular cause for concern in terms of our security. This may become an obstacle in the onward development of NATO-Russian co-operation, if these sensitive issues are not settled to our mutual advantage and on a basis of equality, and if this is not done very soon. Actual deeds and precise and clear actions are needed to eliminate the "grey area" that has become apparent in arms control in Europe. This might be a subject for discussion at one of the NATO PA sessions in 2005.

The Russian Delegation has repeatedly expressed its concern over the infringement of human rights in Latvia and Estonia. However, our partners do not seem to notice all that is going on in these states, which are now NATO members, in relation to discrimination against the Russian-speaking population. We are not satisfied that, at present, action is limited to promises and assurances. There is no severe condemnation of all that is causing irreparable harm to our relations. Russians take these limitations very badly, and want the rights of the Russian-speaking population to be in full accordance with the rules of international law. We think that it is time to put an end to double standards in assessing events in various parts of the world.

We all vividly remember the tragic events of September 2001; the NATO PA roundly condemned terrorism in the Ottawa Declaration. On the other hand there are forces in Europe which are constantly trying to put pressure on Russia to start talks with terrorists in Chechnya, which is impossible in principle. We are concerned that in a number of cases the ruling political entities allow bodies that support extremists to exist in their territory, avoid roundly condemning terrorism, and support terrorists – known to the whole world as such and who are so described in international criminal investigations – who hide from justice in their countries.

Our common task is to devise an effective system of measures to prevent and check any acts of terrorism and to ensure that those guilty of acts of terrorism or of involvement in them cannot escape punishment.

There is still one key problem in our relations, although it also relates to enlargement. Our western partners say that NATO enlargement is a process not directed against Russia and that it has no military dimension. Then let me ask this question: why are there so many military formations in Europe – over 2 million personnel, 16,000 tanks, four and a half thousand aircraft and hundreds of ships? Is this all for peacekeeping forces? That is difficult to believe. In our opinion such a quantity of troops, material and armaments are not needed for such purposes. Is this understood in NATO headquarters and other Alliance bodies, including the NATO PA? The time has come for serious discussion of this issue also. The military aspect is as pressing a topic for consideration in the NATO PA, now as never before.

If our relations are not to deteriorate in the near future, we should take steps to meet each other.

Firstly, the process of NATO enlargement should be frozen for a certain time, especially in respect of those countries that were part of the USSR and are now members of the CIS.

Secondly, it is essential to analyse the force groupings that are deployed in Europe, and accordingly the military budgets and for what purposes and needs they are being spent.

Thirdly, it is time for NATO countries to reject double standards in evaluating Russian realities, in particular certain events in Chechnya. Examination of these and other measures would make it possible to build confidence between NATO and Russia.

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Snapshots during the Assembly's monitoring of the presidential elections in Ukraine, December 2004.

CHAPTER 8 Relations with the Ukrainian Parliament

Peter Viggers
Member of the United Kingdom Delegation. Former Chairman of the Political Committee.

When Ukraine declared independence in 1991, it had no established state institutions, no people capable of running the armed forces on their own, no military industry capable of producing weaponry autonomously, and no notion of civilian control of the armed forces. Today, 14 years after its declaration of independence, Ukraine is a completely different country. It has made enormous progress in political, economic, military and defence reform, and passed through a long transitional period towards democracy, culminating in its presidential elections at the end of 2004. Those historic elections showed that although their democracy is still fragile, the people of Ukraine are committed to democratic values and wish to see their country continue to move forward with reforms.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly has played an important role in helping Ukraine with reforms by providing support and advice during the whole period from 1991 until the present.

1991-1997: "Getting to Know Each Other"

The Assembly's relationship with Ukraine began immediately after Ukraine declared its independence. Ukraine became an associate member of the Assembly in 1991 and since then has actively participated in the Assembly's work. The Verkhovna Rada – the Ukrainian parliament – has a delegation of eight members who – like all associate members – can participate in almost all Assembly activities, are eligible for election as associate rapporteurs, and can present texts and amendments to reports and resolutions. They also have full speaking rights in committee and in the plenary sitting but no right to vote.

From the outset, Ukrainian delegates actively participated in the majority of the Assembly's sessions and seminars and in many of its committee and sub-committee activities. Ukraine also proved to be a willing host for Assembly activities.

Relations in the early years, however, were not without their problems as they rapidly became hostage to the internal divisions in the country during this period and which have re-surfaced periodically since. Namely, the divisions between those who regretted the passing of the Soviet Union, who sought to remain close to Russia and who were suspicious, therefore, and even hostile to the idea of relations with NATO; and those who emphasized Ukrainian independence and its separateness from Russia and were eager for co-operation and partnership with the Alliance as proof of this independence. Representatives and officials in the Rada with whom the Assembly had to deal reflected both tendencies.

These divisions were experienced during the first visit of an Assembly group, a sub-committee of the Defence and Security Committee, to Kyiv in March 1992. Although formally at the invitation of the President of the Rada, the organization was handled solely by a member of the Rada, Valery Ishmalkov, who supported improving relations with the Alliance. However, he received little official support, having to make all the arrangements himself including appointments – several of which were cancelled or changed at the last minute – and all logistics, including transport and interpreters – who turned out to be translators, which hampered communication somewhat.

A further demonstration of these internal divisions was provided by the Rose-Roth seminar held the following year in Kyiv, which was promoted enthusiastically by one side, but implemented less than successfully by the other. The agreement to host the seminar was signed in the Rada with great ceremony. However, the organization was handed over to a less than efficient Kyiv research organization, and minimal resources and effort were forthcoming. Even the venue selected – a sanatorium outside Kyiv which served as a rest and recuperation home for Chernobyl patients – was less than ideal. Despite the somewhat trying circumstances, the seminar succeeded in bringing together a group of NATO members and international observers, and was widely judged a success. Certainly it provided a good opportunity for Ukrainian representatives to introduce Assembly members to Ukrainian concerns. The most pressing of these was Ukraine's feeling that the international community's attention was focussing too intently on neighbouring Russia. It was pointed out that following the break-up of the Soviet Union, Ukraine found itself in possession of the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world. However, it had decided to renounce nuclear weapons and was in desperate need of international assistance in order to dismantle this dangerous legacy of the Cold War. Furthermore, there could be no doubt about Ukraine's strategic importance as a large, populous nation at the heart of Europe. However, as its orientation

was very much in the balance, its relationship with the West was not helped by a public perception of apparent western indifference.

Ukrainian representatives raised these concerns at this seminar and in other meetings, and there is no doubt that this had an impression on Assembly members who have consistently tried to ensure that Ukraine's concerns and aspirations receive wider attention.

The specific issue of the reform of Ukraine's armed forces was the subject of special attention in 1997 when the then leader of the Ukrainian delegation, Mr Ivan Zayets – one of the most pro-NATO of the Ukrainian parliamentarians – presented the first report from the Ukrainian delegation to the Assembly's Defence and Security Committee. This described the difficulties faced in reforming Ukraine's armed forces as well as the opportunities which existed for military co-operation with NATO.

1997-2002: Distinctive Partnership

1997 marked a major milestone in NATO-Ukraine relations. While Ukraine continued to play an active role in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and in Partnership for Peace, the signing of the *Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine* in 1997 signified a new beginning, not only for co-operation between NATO and Ukraine, but also for co-operation between the Assembly and the Verkhovna Rada.

One of the Charter's paragraphs stated: "NATO and Ukraine will encourage expanded dialogue and co-operation between the North Atlantic Assembly and the Verkhovna Rada." As a reaction to this call, the then North Atlantic Assembly suggested the creation of a Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) composed of representatives from the Assembly and the Verkhovna Rada to bring a parliamentary dimension to the NATO-Ukraine Commission. The Rada indicated its support for this proposal, and such a Group was established on 28 September 1998.

The aim of the JMG was to create greater transparency regarding the implementation of the NATO-Ukraine Charter and to demonstrate parliamentary interest and involvement in co-operation between NATO and Ukraine. Consequently, the JMG closely followed NATO-Ukraine co-operation in defence reform, military-to-military co-operation, and other areas such as science, technology, environmental protection, economics and civil emergency planning.

Relations, however, again went through an uneasy period, reflecting domestic and international strains. The Ukrainian government's enhancement of relations with NATO contrasted with the attitude of the Rada's leadership, which was distinctly cool, and became even more so following NATO's decision to take action against the former Federal Republic

of Yugoslavia to defend human rights in Kosovo. However, despite the difficulties, the relationship with the Assembly was maintained by a group of forward-looking Rada members.

By the end of 1998, the formal relationship with the Rada was back on track, and it was agreed that special attention would be devoted to civil-military relations. Since the end of the Cold War, the Assembly has assisted many parliaments in this field by providing training programmes and seminars for parliamentarians and for parliamentary staff. Several programmes were developed and run specifically for Ukraine. Together with the Ukrainian parliament, the Assembly organised a highly successful seminar in Odessa in 1998 on "Democratic Control of the Armed Forces". And in September 2001, the Assembly together with the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) held a seminar in the Ukrainian parliament on "Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector". In addition, the Assembly – in conjunction with NATO, DCAF and the George C. Marshall Center – arranged a series of workshops in the Verkhovna Rada on defence reform, peacekeeping, and defence budgeting.

Assembly members – past and present – contributed to these workshops by sharing their experience and expertise of parliamentary practice and procedures in these areas. It was extremely gratifying to learn how much these workshops were appreciated by members of the Ukrainian parliament, and the sincerity of their comments was underlined by requests for further programmes. Their value was well illustrated by an evaluation comment provided by a participant who was a senior member of the communist party who said: "I was always against NATO but now I see that co-operation is necessary".

2002-present: A New Level of Co-operation

The next phase in the Assembly's relations with Ukraine began in 2002. In May that year, Ukraine declared its intention to join NATO. Consequently, at NATO's Prague Summit in November 2002, the NATO-Ukraine Commission adopted an "Action Plan" for Ukraine which provides a framework for intensified consultations and co-operation on political, economic, military and defence matters. It sets out specific objectives in a wide range of areas including political, economic, military, and legal dimensions. Responsibility for implementing the Action Plan falls mainly on Ukraine. To support its implementation, "milestones" are agreed in an Annual Target Plan, and progress is reviewed twice a year.

The members of the JMG decided that the new form of NATO-Ukraine relationship should be reflected at the parliamentary level. The Group had evolved so that not only was it monitoring the NATO-Ukraine relationship, it was also acting as a forum for exchanging views and offering advice and expertise on the parliamentary aspects of political and defence reform. The Assembly's Standing Committee readily agreed to the Group's proposal to change the Group's title to the "Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council" and to facilitate broader involvement by Assembly members by making its meetings open to members of the Political Committee's Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships.[1]

1. Formerly the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe.

During this period, the NATO PA added new elements to its co-operation with the Rada. In January 2003, again together with DCAF, the Assembly ran a special training course in Brussels for staff from various committees of the Verkhovna Rada. This week-long course familiarized participants with NATO's political agenda, its structure and its relationships with other international organizations. It also included visits to, and briefings on, the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Belgian Parliament.

Certain other Assembly programmes should also be mentioned because although they are not uniquely focussed on Ukraine, Ukraine is nevertheless actively involved. For instance, several Ukrainian graduate students have participated in the Assembly's internship programme, working within the International Secretariat for three months, and assisting with policy research. They have all returned to Ukraine with a deeper understanding of NATO and the Assembly, and have gained the invaluable, broadening experience of living in an international environment. This training seems to equip them well for the future: one, for instance, has become director of the Ukrainian Center for Strategic Studies.

Ukraine has also participated very actively in the Assembly's annual "New Parliamentarians Programme" which provides an excellent grounding in NATO's roles and missions for parliamentarians who are new to parliament or new to international responsibilities within their parliament.

The 2004 Presidential Elections in Ukraine

As the presidential elections of 2004 approached, many members of the Assembly's Ukrainian delegation expressed their concerns about the likely conduct of those elections. In May 2004, the then President of the Assembly, Doug Bereuter, visited Ukraine, and in meetings with Ukrainian officials, including President Leonid Kuchma, expressed his deep concern that the forthcoming elections should be fair and free and that the maximum number of observers should be allowed to observe the elections. He reported his grave reservations to the Standing Committee which then issued a statement calling on Ukraine's authorities to ensure that the election was fair, free and transparent. The statement also urged Ukraine to facilitate the widest possible participation of international monitors.

In addition, in view of the Assembly's special relationship with Ukraine, the Standing Committee decided that the NATO Parliamentary Assembly should itself be involved in monitoring the elections. Shortly afterwards, the Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Volodymyr Lytvyn, invited the NATO Parliamentary Assembly to monitor the elections, so the Assembly joined the other organizations that made up the International Election Observation Mission (IEOM).[2]

2. The International Election Observation Mission involved the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the European Parliament, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

Assembly members demonstrated their concern and support by participating in the observation missions for all three rounds of the elections, culminating in the final repeat round on 26 December 2004.

As is now well known, the road to that repeat second round was not a smooth one, and the IEOM played a vital role in helping the will of the Ukrainian people to be expressed.

In presenting the preliminary findings of the IEOM, Bruce George, the Mission's leader, said, "In our judgment the people of this great country can be truly proud that ...they took a great step towards free and democratic elections, by electing the next president of Ukraine."

Karl A. Lamers, Deputy Head of the NATO PA delegation added, "The role of our Mission has been to assist Ukraine in establishing the conditions for its people to express their democratic will, and we have been very impressed by the progress that Ukraine has made in that respect in only a few short weeks. Our Mission's findings contrast sharply with those from previous rounds, and they show that the Ukrainian people are committed to democratic principles and practices."

Conclusion

The relationship between the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada has evolved remarkably since Ukraine's re-emergence as an independent state in 1991. Since then, Ukraine has surmounted many obstacles and faced many challenges in its quest to become fully integrated with the Euro-Atlantic community. Following the events of late 2004, there is no doubt that the Ukrainian people are committed to a better future, and that they wish their nation to be an economically prosperous, free European state. The Assembly will continue to do all that it can to work with its friends in the Verkhovna Rada to help Ukraine fulfill that wish.

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Oleh Zarubinsky
Head of the Ukrainian Delegation.

The importance of parliamentary interaction between Ukraine and the NATO nations cannot be overestimated. Over the last few years, the continuous and growing co-operation at the parliamentary level between the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly stood in marked contrast to the ebbs and flows of the relationship at the inter-governmental level.

On 21 November 2002, the Verkhovna Rada adopted a historical decision: by 263 votes out of the 450 in the Verkhovna Rada, it was agreed that Ukraine should seek to become a full member of NATO. It should be noted that this resolution followed the adoption at the highest state level of a national strategy which had this same orientation towards NATO.

To understand the significance of this parliamentary decision, it is necessary to recall that Ukrainian society is still far from having rid itself of the perception that NATO is an aggressive military bloc. Despite this perception, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine saw NATO as the core of the new architecture of continental security, and Ukrainian members of parliament were convinced that the participation of Ukraine in precisely this system, and not in any other, would guarantee Ukraine its independence, territorial integrity, and progress in Ukrainian society as well as the prevention of new threats to stability and security in Europe. For all these reasons, the parliament determined that Alliance membership represented the most important task of the country in the sphere of Euro-Atlantic integration in the near future.

It is understandable that the decision to move towards NATO membership meant seeking a new basis for relations with NATO.

At present, relations between Ukraine and NATO are conducted within a framework of more than a dozen legal and political documents. Among them, the Charter on the Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and NATO, signed in Madrid on 9 July 1997, is of special importance. This Charter determined the mechanisms of Ukraine-NATO bilateral co-operation.

One of the provisions of the Charter encouraged NATO and Ukraine to expand dialogue and co-operation between the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the Verkhovna Rada. To realize that expanded dialogue, the Joint Monitoring Group of the Verkhovna Rada and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly was established as an important instrument of inter-parliamentary co-operation. Its first meeting was held in November 2000, and in the framework of this forum various issues of bilateral relations have been discussed. These include: reform of Ukraine's armed forces, the introduction of democratic control of the

armed forces, the structure of the defence budget, international co-operation, and the use of the potential of the Alliance to promote Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration.

However, co-operation between the Verkhovna Rada and the Assembly was not confined to this bilateral group. The members of the Verkhovna Rada's delegation to the Assembly are extremely active participants in Assembly meetings, including committee and sub-committee meetings, seminars of various kinds, and Assembly Sessions. The Verkhovna Rada and the Assembly have also jointly organized several conferences, round tables and seminars focussing on the role of parliament in national security policy.

In general, co-operation between Ukraine and NATO on the basis of the Madrid Charter played a positive role, particularly during the period when relations were being established and institutionalized. Nevertheless, there was concern in Ukraine that however useful this Charter was in developing the genuinely distinctive partnership between Ukraine and NATO, it was not a sufficient basis for co-operation once Ukraine had determined that its ultimate goal was NATO membership rather than a close, co-operative partnership. No nations that have made the successful transition from partner to member have had such a Charter, and it was feared that confining the relationship to the Charter might actually become an impediment to the membership process.

Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko addressing NATO Heads of State and Government at the Summit meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission, 22 February 2005.

This concern was allayed on 22 November 2002 (coincidentally, at the same time when the Verkhovna Rada was making its historic decision to seek NATO membership) when during the NATO Summit in Prague, the Ukraine-NATO Action Plan was adopted. This Action Plan specified the strategic objectives and priorities for Ukraine on its path to Euro-Atlantic integration. Supporting the implementation of the Action Plan's objectives, Annual Target Plans are agreed in which Ukraine sets its own targets for activities and milestones it wishes to achieve both internally and in co-operation with NATO.

In order to strengthen the significance and role of the parliamentary dimension of bilateral relations between Ukraine and NATO, the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council

was established, replacing the Ukraine-NATO Joint Monitoring Group. This Council was established in March 2003, during the period of transition from the distinctive partnership to dialogue in order to focus on the parliamentary dimension of Ukraine's preparations for full membership of NATO.

The main tasks of the Council are to provide a parliamentary dimension to the NATO-Ukraine relationship, to facilitate the proper and timely implementation of the Action Plan and the interim annual target plans, and to assist Ukraine in establishing parliamentary practices and procedures commensurate with its integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. The first meeting of the Council was held in Kyiv on 6 October 2003.

During the implementation of the third Annual Target Plan in 2005, the Council's attention will focus on the following areas: the consolidation of the positive shifts towards strengthening democratic electoral institutions; the independence of the judicial authorities; civil society; the rule of law; mechanisms for protecting human rights; the successful reform of the security sector; as well as enhancing the public perception of NATO.

In the Verkhovna Rada, these issues are under the remit of the Committee on European Integration and the Special Committee on the Monitoring of the Ukraine-NATO Action Plan.

The work of these Committees and indeed all the Verkhovna Rada's work in implementing political and defence reforms is discussed in the context of the NATO-Ukraine Interparliamentary Council. The exchange of views among participants in these meetings helps our friends and colleagues in NATO nations understand the challenges that we face and how we are addressing them. They, in turn, can provide useful insights based on their own widely varying parliamentary experiences in their own nations. Such exchanges are enormously useful and I, as leader of Ukraine's delegation to the Assembly, am convinced that our work is making a vital contribution to helping Ukraine move along an irreversible path towards full NATO membership.

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Meeting of the Mediterranean Special Group with the Marrakech Chamber of Commerce, during a visit to Morocco, April 2004.

Jean-Michel Boucheron
Chairman of the Mediterranean Special Group. Former Head of the French Delegation.

The Mediterranean Special Group

Originally the main purpose of the Mediterranean Dialogue, conceived by NATO and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly together in 1994, was to contribute to security and stability in the region and to reach a better mutual understanding. It is a product of the recognition that security in the Euro-Atlantic space as a whole is closely linked to security and stability in the Mediterranean space. The Dialogue, which is conducted within the framework of the "Mediterranean Special Group" (GSM, set up in 1996) is an integral part of the Assembly's co-operative approach to security. The Mediterranean Special Group consists of members of the five committees that make up the Assembly. They are nominated by their national delegations. The GSM is now regarded as de facto the 6th committee of the Assembly. However, it is required to work outside the normal framework of Assembly committee and plenary meetings. This Dialogue has assumed a strategic dimension because of the proliferation of threats and concerns common to NATO member states and Mediterranean partners. During the last decade the increasing scope of this Dialogue within the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has demonstrated the crucial need for political exchanges with these countries and reflects the ever more important role of this forum for discussion, which is helping to develop a mutual understanding of our respective and common security challenges.

Because of the nature of the Assembly as an interparliamentary organization, the Assembly's Mediterranean Dialogue is arranged on very different lines from that of

NATO. The Assembly's Dialogue is essentially of a multilateral nature and covers a wide range of topical issues compared with NATO's, which is more bilateral and focussed on issues relating to security.

Meeting with the President of the Council of the Nation, Bachir Boumaza, Algeria, March 2001.

The Increasing Scope of the Dialogue

The Dialogue provides for regular exchanges between members of the Assembly and participating countries. Its programme of work now centres around three annual meetings. The annual visit to one of the partner countries enables elected representatives of NATO member states to familiarize themselves with security problems specific to the Mediterranean space[1]. In the course of these visits members of the NATO PA meet with the most senior official defence and security experts in the country, but also with independent experts and representatives of the academic world and of civil society. This is a unique opportunity for members of the GSM to forge links with their opposite numbers in national parliaments and to discuss issues of common interest such as migratory movements, the development of fundamentalist networks or the terrorist threat.

A Mediterranean Dialogue seminar on specific topics is also organized once a year. A broad range of topics is discussed during these seminars. Issues such as terrorism, the situation in the Middle East, Islam and democracy, with appropriate guest speakers, feature regularly on the agenda because of their relevance. Other sessions tackle resource issues such as water and oil in this area or questions of regional stability.

The first seminar was held in Paris in 1995, and the tenth GSM seminar was organized in Mauritania[2], in October 2004.

The most recent addition to the Mediterranean Dialogue agenda is the now-annual Naples seminar in late June. This was established at the initiative of the Italian delegation and through the personal interest of the Mayor of Naples, and reflects the success and growing and reciprocal interest of discussions with Mediterranean partners. On this occasion the GSM invites Mediterranean Dialogue officials from NATO as well as political and military figures from the Alliance with a view to sharing experiences and co-ordinating their respective activities.

Opening up the Dialogue to New Partners

The GSM has opened up progressively to new partners. Originally, in 1995, the Dialogue had been established with six countries: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. Subsequently Cyprus, Malta, the Palestinian Legislative Council and Algeria joined in events organized by the Assembly, thus bringing the number of partners in this Dialogue up to ten. Lebanon and Syria were also invited to join this Dialogue. Apart from their participation in Mediterranean Dialogue activities, partners enjoyed different degrees of association with the Assembly. As a further reflection of their growing relevance, the Assembly decided to create a special status, that of "Mediterranean Associate Member", at the Venice session in 2004, and to grant the Kingdom of Morocco this status. This move closely matched the ambitions of several other countries and Algeria, Israel, Jordan and Mauritania have also been granted this status.

1. Visits to Jordan and Israel and to the West Bank were organized in 1998, to Morocco in 1999 and 2004, to Lebanon in 2000, to Algeria in 2001 and to Tunisia in 2002.

2. Other seminars have been organized: in Portugal in 1996, in Turkey in 1997, in Egypt in 1998, in Spain in 1999 and 2003, in Italy in 2000, in Malta in 2001 and in Greece in 2002.

Lunch at the Chamber of Representatives of the Kingdom of Morocco, April 2004.

In the same spirit of drawing legislators and representatives from the region into the Assembly's work, the Palestinian Legislative Council has been granted Parliamentary Observer status.

Enhancing the Dialogue following the Terrorist Attacks on 11 September 2001 and the NATO Istanbul Summit in 2004

In accordance with the decisions taken at the NATO Istanbul Summit in 2004, which recommended enhancing the Mediterranean Dialogue through a new transatlantic commitment to a broader Middle East, in 2005 the GSM opened up its activities to new themes and partners. It is clearly vital to extend these activities to the entire area now defined as "the Mediterranean and a broader Middle East". This definition makes it possible to bring a greater number of countries affected by the same security threats into this Dialogue. Today this vast region is at the centre of transatlantic security concerns, as a result of NATO enlargement and new operations, the process of globalization and the international threat that terrorism has become.

Thus the GSM will seek, *inter alia*, to initiate contacts in 2005 with the Gulf Co-operation Council countries[3], to consider recent developments and to discuss the potential regional role of Libya, to concentrate on the new prospects for peace in the Middle East and to study the ties which the Mediterranean world and the broader Middle East maintain with Central Asia and the Caucasus. In this way the GSM intends to contribute

3. The Gulf Co-operation Council includes the following countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. The Mediterranean Dialogue Seminar in 2005 will be held in Qatar.

to the investment in information, diplomacy and communication initiated by the Alliance, essential to establishing a relationship of trust and co-operation with these partners, to overcoming mutual prejudices and to facing up to security challenges and threats to peace together.

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Giovanni Lorenzo Forcieri
Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
Head of the Italian Delegation.

The Broader Middle East

The decisive action taken by NATO to place the security of the Mediterranean at the top of its political agenda has been a major development within the Alliance, and followed the example of its Parliamentary Assembly.

NATO's interest in the Mediterranean has not come about in terms of confrontation between the two shores, but rather for the development of a possible partnership. The Alliance sees no enemies on its southern flank. The Cold War rationale has been superseded once and for all, and replaced by a policy of good neighbourliness and co-operation with bordering countries, based on shared values and common purposes.

Awareness that the new challenges we face are shared by all has meant that today the Mediterranean forms the centrepiece of NATO's political agenda. These challenges are headed by international terrorism, which is now stateless and indiscriminately attacks both western and Muslim countries led by democratic and moderate leaders. Terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the institutional fragility of certain states, the attacks – to cite just a few – at Casablanca, Tunisia, Istanbul, Madrid and London, and also 11 September 2001 – all these confirm an undeniable truth: everything which happens in this area inevitably and directly affects not only Euro-Atlantic security, but global security as well.

NATO is therefore seeking new types of contact and co-operation with the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean in a world that has radically changed since the end of the Cold War. Globalization, increasing demographic imbalances, the divide in economic and social development, inadequate and unequal participation in political and institutional life, religious radicalism, mass migration flows that are impoverishing the countries of origin and can become a problem for the host countries: all these are factors generating tension, instability and latent conflict. They require both sides of the Mediterranean to undertake a joint analysis, develop a common perception and, above all, adopt a response which must be coordinated, if not implemented in common.

Italy has always made relations with the other countries in the Mediterranean region one of the lynchpins of its foreign policy and has striven to ensure that the Allies also understand the strategic significance of the southern shore in terms of Euro-Atlantic and global security. This is why, over 10 years ago, it was at Italy's political initiative that the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue came into being, as the first positive experience of co-operation

between the Alliance and a number of Mediterranean countries based on identifying, on a case-by-case basis, specific areas of co-operation and common interest.

This farsightedness has finally been rewarded. Today, these concepts are shared by the whole of the Atlantic community. At the Istanbul Summit last year, NATO promoted the Mediterranean Dialogue to the rank of a fully-fledged partnership, thereby vastly enhancing its political importance. After years of what has mainly been bilateral co-operation, the Dialogue has now finally been incorporated also into a multilateral context as well. There is no doubt that on the international political stage, multilateralism is the most remunerative investment in regional crisis resolution and worldwide governance. While multilateral relations are certainly more complex and require more painstaking efforts to build up, they also make foreign policy more effective and develop a sense of mutual responsibility on the part of all those involved. Any other rationale would be inadequate to manage the complexity of the contemporary world.

This political route and progress towards a multilateral dimension in the Mediterranean has not been easy, nor without obstacles. For at least 10 years following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the Allies' attention was virtually monopolised by democratization, partnership and enlargement towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

From right: The author, together with NATO PA President, Pierre Lellouche meeting President Hamid Karzai during a NATO PA visit to Afghanistan, March 2005.

No less important were the difficulties encountered in the process of confidence-building with the states of the southern shore, which have always been restrained by the unresolved issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is an environment in which, until only recently, even mentioning NATO would have been met with rejection if not open hostility.

The fact that change is under way and that political dialogue and co-operation are now possible, is due primarily to the radical transformation NATO has undergone since the end of the Cold War, and which is finally being perceived even in these countries.

This transformation has meant that the Atlantic Alliance is today the principal transatlantic political debating forum on security and defence issues. It is also an organization that produces stability and security, good neighbourhood and partnership relations. It is based on a core of common objectives and values such as the participation by citizens in their countries' democratic and institutional life, political control over the armed forces, spreading economic prosperity and education, social justice etc.

In addition, NATO can also claim to have acquired a more solid and increasing international legitimacy in the eyes of the Muslim Arab world.

It should not be forgotten that NATO intervened to protect the Muslim populations in Bosnia and Kosovo, shielding the latter from the genocide being perpetrated by the dictatorial regime then in power. In intervening in a European and Christian country at that moment, the Alliance risked jeopardizing its developing strategic partnership with Russia. Moreover, NATO as an organization did not support the war in Iraq – indeed the issue has had a serious effect on the quality of transatlantic relations in recent years. Today, acting on a UN mandate, the Alliance is supporting a mission to train the local security forces, since the UN has declared its inability to make any other alternative provision for this. Furthermore, NATO, again acting on a UN mandate, is also responsible for the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, for the stabilization and reconstruction of the country.

Lastly, since the June 2004 Istanbul Summit, NATO has expanded operation "Active Endeavour" for counterterrorism surveillance and patrolling in the Mediterranean that was set in motion immediately after 11 September 2001, extending participation to its partners, and not least, to Dialogue participating countries.

The increasingly political character of NATO and its new role on the global stage must, of course, be better known and explained. This is why the work being conducted by its parliamentary dimension is of decisive importance.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly has anticipated and explored dialogue and co-operation with many countries with which alliances and partnerships have subsequently been established at the governmental level. This was the case with the European countries from the former Soviet bloc, and is now also the case with regard to public diplomacy in the Mediterranean. Relations are not restricted to the parliamentary level, but involve the media, universities and research establishments in virtually all the Mediterranean nations. The issues for discussion concern not only defence and security, but also other matters central to a comprehensive approach to the concept of stability and security. These include water resources, energy sources, migration, economic development, improving education and vocational training, protecting the environment, combating terrorism and organized crime – all of which are of undoubted interest to our Mediterranean partners, and have to be addressed in a co-ordinated and multilateral manner. In order to enhance this specific form of co-operation, the Assembly has gone so far as to create a category of Mediterranean associated countries – the Mediterranean Associate delegations – which allows these countries to participate actively in a broad range of Assembly activities[1].

In view of such incisive and dynamic political action, NATO, too, is increasingly recognizing, appreciating, supporting and relying on the role of its parliamentary dimension.

The dynamism and outreach of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly are also gradually being expanded to take in the countries of the Broader Middle East, for which NATO launched the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) in June 2004. Under that Initiative, the Broader

1. The Assembly has also encouraged the involvement of representatives of the Palestinian Legislative Council in its Mediterranean activities.

Middle East is viewed as a geopolitical, rather than a strictly geographic concept, and refers to a region running virtually from the Gulf States to Afghanistan. The purpose of the ICI is to extend south-eastwards the process of creating stability and security, using the co-operation model that proved so successful in the first phase of the Mediterranean Dialogue (1994-2004).

Under the ICI – as with NATO's recently declared readiness to cooperate with the African Union over Darfur – the NATO Alliance is further broadening its geopolitical horizons. The Mediterranean Dialogue and the ICI in particular are part of one and the same context and are, to a certain extent, both complementary and gradual processes. The importance of the Mediterranean Dialogue has already been discussed at length. The ICI can play a key role, too, in that it fosters co-operation with countries of crucial importance in terms of political stability, religious tolerance, and the security of energy supplies, among other things. But we must make sure that the progressive and pro-active nature of NATO's outreach policies does not slow down the momentum taking place in the Mediterranean area, which is our top priority at the present time.

It is, of course, essential that NATO and the NATO Assembly should not be alone in defining and implementing action programmes. An overall strategy is also needed, aiming not only at security and stabilization in the Mediterranean, but also at full economic, social and cultural integration between the European, the North African and the Middle Eastern Mediterranean.

All of this calls for the closest possible coordination with the European Union and new efforts to promote regional co-operation between the non-European Mediterranean countries. The Barcelona Process – the institutional basis of Euro-Mediterranean co-operation – has found it difficult to take off so far, particularly because most of the political resources of Europe have been spent on a massive scale on enlargement and in the arduous task of pursuing the new constitution project. But today, developments in the international situation (most notably, the new approach of the US Administration and the overtures between Ariel Sharon and Mahmoud Abbas) have opened up new and wider areas for political action to reinvigorate and enhance Euro-Mediterranean relations. These opportunities must not be lost. We are witnessing a historic opportunity, the most favourable we have had in the past five years, which we underestimate at our peril.

We are well aware of the way in which the situation in the Middle East has weighed heavily in the past, and continues to weigh heavily, on prospects for enhancing Euro-Mediterranean co-operation and NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue. It is now high time to reverse the approach that both sides have grown accustomed to taking on this issue. Surely, a more mature form of co-operation between NATO countries and Mediterranean countries might provide a fresh impetus to revive the peace process, particularly by encouraging the restoration of the necessary mutual trust. Could we not think of NATO taking a leading role in mine clearance in those territories? Why not imagine that, tomorrow, NATO itself

might at the request of both the parties concerned and the international community, guarantee the security of Israel and the future Palestinian state? Many distinguished commentators have expressed understandable prudence in this regard. And yet I wonder who else but NATO would have the capacity and the assets to undertake such an important task? Sometimes political/military alliances are the best allies of peace. This is why I believe that NATO's place must not be relegated to the history books, but that it can secure itself as the most relevant organization in this new century.

And this is the spirit in which to gauge the new political dimension of the Dialogue. The Mediterranean today can be better defined as a microcosm which reflects the conflicts between the North and the South of the world. The political signal that we have to send out to our partners must therefore be unambiguous. We do not want the Mediterranean to become a border, a new geographical barrier. The Mediterranean must once again become that "central region" with the natural vocation of acting as a hinge between peoples. In order to achieve this we are ready to embark upon a common path, which entails commitment and sacrifices.

Europe and NATO have successfully completed the eastward integration process. The moment has now come to commit ourselves, together with all the peoples of the Mediterranean: the integration process would be disfigured if it were not brought to completion – with the appropriate forms and in the appropriate manner – southwards as well. Europe in particular is increasingly being seen as a political project, rather than as a geographic expression, a project reaching out to those who share its vision. It is therefore natural for the process to be completed, following enlargement to the east and to Turkey, with a strong and renewed focus on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

It is in the Mediterranean that NATO and the European Union must see their next and their main area of operation, their new political frontier, the challenge that must be won together. If we succeed and manage to set in motion a process of genuine social-economic integration with the countries on the southern shore, the Euro-Mediterranean area can then move from insecurity to stability. It can stand as a formidable third development pole, complementing the new economic system in which the future seems to be dominated by the great emerging economic powers. With a successful Euro-Mediterranean perspective, Europe can keep at bay – in a non-traumatic fashion – the risks of decline connected with its chronically falling birth rate. Today's imbalances will become opportunities to be seized on and will not impoverish the countries on the southern shore. But these ambitious projects need strong political will and solidarity, and total synergy between the institutional players and the increasingly more broadly-based support of parliaments and public opinion as a whole.

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Chapter 10 The Transatlantic Relationship

Family portrait of the North Atlantic Council at the level of Heads of State and Government, 22 February 2005.

Doug Bereuter
President, The Asia Foundation. Former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Former Head of the United States House of Representatives Delegation.

My perspective of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly as an American parliamentarian is based upon more than twenty years of involvement as an alternate member and member of the delegation from the US House of Representatives. Before I retired from Congress in September 2004, I served as Chairman of the US House delegation for ten years; I served a two-year term as Assembly Vice-President; and then I concluded my Assembly tenure and congressional service with a two-year term as Assembly President, beginning in November 2002. It was my privilege to address the NATO summits as the Assembly President in Prague in 2002 and Istanbul in 2004, an important precedent set by then Assembly President, US Senator William Roth, as an official member of the US Summit delegation at the July 1997 Madrid Summit. During my tenure in the Assembly, my primary committee activity was concentrated primarily on the Defence and Security Committee and secondarily on the Economics and Security Committee.

My first involvement in the Assembly came through being the only American participant on the Assembly's annual Military Tour of 1985 of the Northern Region. Indeed, I learned I was the first American in many years to join a Military Tour. Furthermore, it is likely that no American since had participated in these annual tours in Europe or Canada until I again was part of the tour as Assembly President in 2003, when the Italians advanced the date to late August. This lack of American participation in such tours hosted by our Assembly colleagues did not demonstrate a lack of interest in these informative and collegial tours. It only reflects the fact that Europeans primarily reserve August for vacations and family time, while the American Congress resumes two days after our Labor Day national holiday (the Wednesday after the first Monday in September).

All of this detail about the annual Military Tour (now Annual Study Visit) and the post-Labor Day congressional session is provided to introduce what is an important part of the explanation for a perspective Americans have about the Assembly. That perspective is undoubtedly affected by our inability to participate in Assembly activities as extensively as our European – or even Canadian – colleagues. The distance for Americans (and Canadians) from the great majority of Assembly activities that understandably take place in Europe, the length of our congressional sessions each year, and especially the lack of "pairing" for votes missed and an apparently greater political consequence for legislative absenteeism, combine to result in American participation generally being restricted to the spring and autumn sessions and the February Brussels-Paris OECD meetings. It needs to be said that we recognize that our colleagues from other countries are always extremely considerate in attempting to set the dates for two of these three meetings around two predictable national holiday recess periods for the US Congress. However, we have to hope for the best in setting the autumn meeting in odd-numbered years, for then we can only guess when Congress will finally adjourn for the year.

The effect of all of this is that Americans are rarely able to participate in the separate committee and sub-committee events, or the meetings of the Mediterranean Special Group, where so much of the Assembly's real investigations and fact-finding work is done. We thus are also denied many opportunities to build greater rapport with our European colleagues, to acquire a more complete understanding of our NATO allies' militaries, governments, and institutions, and to gain first-hand exposure to the European scene and attitudes. These comments are not offered as an excuse or complaint – only a lament, for our European and Canadian Assembly colleagues have good-naturedly always gone out of their way in agreeing to a schedule to facilitate American participation.

From my first exposure to the Assembly, an annual Military Tour led by then President Sir Patrick Wall, my Assembly colleagues reached out to befriend and assist a young American legislator as we visited a variety of NATO and national military programmes and facilities, communities, and officials in Norway and Denmark. My planned early departure from the tour before we reached northern Germany was readily accepted so I could return to the United States in time for the September congressional session.

What element of an American Assembly member's perspective might differ from that of a European or even a Canadian? The most important difference for an American (and I suspect a Canadian participant, too) is probably the obvious one – the Assembly provides a rare opportunity to know and work with our national legislator counterparts from across the Atlantic and to experience the European scene, culture, and societies as part of that interparliamentary experience.

The Assembly experience is particularly important, I would suggest, for those American legislators who have little contact with Europeans or other foreign legislators and have fewer

opportunities for congressional foreign travel, because they serve exclusively on domestic-oriented congressional committees. The majority of the Assembly delegates from the United States usually serve only on domestic committees.

While Europeans undoubtedly benefit from their interparliamentary experience and contact with their European counterparts and from their related travel within the continent, their proximity to their neighbours makes such contact, knowledge, and experience far more common. Even the working arrangements of the Assembly's committee and plenary – for example, the use of rapporteurs and the multinational political caucuses, even the style of resolutions – all differ from American practices. These things don't come naturally to a member of the US Congress, and this perhaps confuses or delays our knowledgeable participation when we first join the Assembly. Relatedly, there is an American-Canadian interparliamentary exchange involving a few members of Congress. However, unless the Senator or House member comes from a Canadian border state, regrettably, we even have too little contact with Canadian parliamentarians and too little knowledge of Canada. The Assembly reduces that deficit slightly for a small number of – nevertheless important – American legislators.

Assembly participants from the United States also benefit from a greater understanding of just how different our Congress is from the parliamentary system of our allies, and from a greater appreciation of the generous staff capabilities, research assets, budget, relative political independence, and intra-governmental power we have in our Congress vis-à-vis our Assembly colleagues. On the other hand, we know that while many of our European and Canadian colleagues can realistically aspire to serve as ministers in their governments, few from Congress can realistically expect to occupy similar positions in the US Government. In short, the Assembly interactions between Americans and our foreign colleagues give us constant examples of just how different the US Congress is from the legislative arenas of our Assembly colleagues.

America is an ocean away from the Soviet threat that required the creation of NATO, the Cold War circumstances that required the maintenance of a strong alliance until the break-up of the Warsaw Pact and disintegration of the Soviet Union, and from the Balkan and Afghanistan conflicts that extended the peace enforcement mission of NATO and its member nations. Nevertheless, the United States has always provided the largest commitment of funds, manpower, and military capabilities to NATO. For these reasons, the American legislators most knowledgeable about NATO – a large proportion of whom are Assembly participants – have played a key role in maintaining America's commitment to NATO. For example, I can recall the lengthy period the US Congress routinely devoted to its annual NATO burden-sharing floor debates. Members of the US delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly played an informed, crucial, and bipartisan role from their diverse committee positions (including key members of the armed services committees) in successfully fighting off debilitating cuts year after year.

Part of this American's perspective about the Assembly is a comparative one with respect to the American-European Union relationship. Earlier in my congressional service, even before I began to participate in the North Atlantic Assembly, I was an active member of the bi-annual US House delegation exchange with a European Parliament delegation, an active involvement that lasted more than fifteen years. To this day, I have attempted to follow closely the evolution of what is now the European Union and its component parts, especially as they relate to American governmental, political, and business sectors. My experience in that interparliamentary exchange was informative and friendly. Relationships were created with numerous European counterparts. Members of many of our families became friends with each other too, especially in the early years. Some of those friendships survive to this day. Yet over time, the European Union increasingly became a very real economic competitor with "adversarial" actions and reactions between Brussels and Washington. As a result, the differences and disputes between members of the European Parliament and Americans became more numerous, and it became a bit more difficult to find compromises and common ground. Our perspectives and priorities among the gathered parliamentarians gradually became different too – not extreme, because the fundamental values among legislators from western democracies were, and are, largely the same. Yet there are more nuances in our attitudes and perceptions as we represent legislators from increasingly competitive economic and political entities; those trends continue.

The evolution of the "European Union Club" in NATO — an American concern. The author and German MEP, Elmar Brok co-chairing a meeting between Assembly members and members of the European Parliament at the European Parliament, February 2004.

The Assembly, on the other hand, while not free from the factors that increasingly divide the European Union and the United States, remains an interparliamentary body consisting of *national* legislators who are *allied* – who meet as elected representatives of an alliance. As long as NATO remains vitally and predominantly a defensive alliance working to defend its members from the array of potential threats to our citizens, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly will remain an important institution where we seek common ground and solutions. It is the forum where we seek to build support for funding and other necessary decisions in our respective national capitals that sustain a strong alliance – perhaps the most effective defensive alliance in the history of the world – and one that has uniquely been able to take on some of the most difficult military and peacekeeper tasks in the post-Cold War era.

Some of my Assembly colleagues will remember my concern about the evolution of the "European Union Club" in NATO, and about possible debilitating redirections in defence capabilities – as inadequate European financial support is devoted to duplicative and unnecessary organizational structures. They may remember my concern that the increasingly competitive and exacerbated relations between the European Union and NATO's two North American countries will spill over into NATO's decisions, as my luncheon speech at our Assembly's first Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum in December 2001 tried to highlight. Perhaps they will also recall the illustrations I presented about the attitudinal and possible value gap that seems to be progressively emerging between America and Europe.

Among other possibly important factors, I believe that those differences are emerging as a result of: the evolution of the European Union with the voluntary surrender by its member countries of some important traditional elements of sovereignty, and the resultant more starkly apparent contrast in the US consensus about threats to American sovereignty and related suspicions about, or lukewarm support for, multilateral institutions and agreements; and the emergence of the United States as the only complete superpower after the collapse of the Soviet threat and the resultant intention by some European countries or leaders to create a multi-polar world with a European counterweight to America. There is also a related American suspicion that some Europeans see our country as a Gulliver that must be restrained by as many institutional and alliance strictures as possible.

Since the occasion of that Forum luncheon speech at the US National Defense University, the military actions and policies of the US Administration in Afghanistan, and also – and especially – Iraq, have understandably had a highly negative and divisive effect on the solidarity of the NATO Alliance and upon European and Canadian attitudes and opinions about American and the US Administration's policies, actions, and values. These differences and very sharp changes undoubtedly in part sprang from: perceptions of American unilateralism; faulty or contrived intelligence findings, especially with respect to WMD; apparent US Administration misunderstandings or misjudgements about Iraqis – their sense of nationalism and the nature and intensity of their religious differences; the inadequacy of the US Administration's policies, planning, and military resources for the continuing aftermath period of the Iraq invasion; the results of the failure of the UN Security Council to act in a timely and resolute fashion when its resolutions were repeatedly flaunted by Saddam Hussein; the intentional or permissive violation of UN sanctions against Iraq by various NATO allies and other countries (not to mention the now all too apparent failure by the UN to properly implement and then honestly manage the embargo and sale of Iraqi oil); and the conscious actions by certain Security Council member countries to block any good faith effort to implement by resolution an effective UNSC solution to the Iraq problem. There are undoubtedly other factors, too, that could be cited as contributing to the existing

large attitudinal and solidarity gap between America and its NATO partners. Whether most readers would agree with the reasons cited is probably not that important, but what is important is that the gap in solidarity, perception, and attitudes is a wide and serious one.

For members of the Assembly, I would say that as your recent colleague in the NATO PA, I urge you to continue to recognize what a valuable asset the Assembly is as a forum for sharing information, for civil and informed consultation and debate, and for rebuilding a consensus that is vital for our Alliance and our democratic societies. I wish you every success in this endeavour.

I wish to turn to a subject in which the Assembly collectively can take great pride and which can serve as an inspiration for successfully meeting both the immediate challenges outlined here and those unknown ones that surely lie ahead. It seems to me indisputable that the finest hour for the Assembly in its first fifty years was its crucial leadership role in helping to bring functioning parliamentary democracy to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe as they broke free from the shackles of totalitarian communism. Not only did we help them through our extensive programme of Rose-Roth seminars and other outreach activities, but also the respective legislative bodies of the 16 NATO countries and the Assembly and the democratic principles and practices we embodied were no doubt a significant part of what inspired them to bravely act to join the western democratic community of nations. Our new NATO allies – three at first and now seven more – were welcomed and integrated into the democratic practices of the Assembly as associate members, and then as full member countries. They have now joined us as relevant and inspiring role models in our outreach programmes to those increasing number of nations that wish to join the Assembly and NATO as members or in some other form of partnership or association. The Assembly must be open to their participation and to programmes to assist them.

The Assembly's finest hour was helping to bring functioning parliamentary democracy to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The author with NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson of Port Ellen at a press conference, Prague, May 2003.

To my former colleagues, I would say that my path has taken me in a different direction where regrettably I won't see you as often, and then not as a colleague. Those of you who remain engaged in the important work of the Assembly, however, know that I will miss you, I will watch for your future actions, and I wish you every success in sustaining and enhancing the work and reputation of the Assembly.

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John Tanner
Former Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
Member of the United States House of Representatives Delegation.

When it comes to international relations, trade policy is perhaps the area in which the legislative branch has the greatest role to play. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that the NATO Parliamentary Assembly includes the only forum where national legislators from Europe and North America can regularly discuss transatlantic economic relations.

The executive tends to have great discretion in the conduct of defence and foreign policy – the main concerns of the NATO Alliance – but decisions about whether to approve a free-trade agreement, eliminate export subsidies, protect a domestic industry, or remove tariffs all require that parliaments enact legislation. In the United States, the Congress decides whether or not to grant the President Trade Promotion Authority, without which it is virtually impossible to negotiate a trade deal. When we consider trade policy, members are certain to hear from the domestic groups that will benefit or be hurt, but we are less likely to appreciate the political forces confronting our trade partners.

In the transatlantic arena, we saw trade tensions between the United States and Europe coming to a head in the late 1990s, with disputes over issues like banana import regimes, beef hormones, and aircraft hush kits. With tensions already growing in NATO at that time over military action in Kosovo, many of us were concerned about the potential for economic disputes to spill over and negatively affect our military alliance. At the same time, we realized that the NATO Parliamentary Assembly is the only body that brings together national legislators from Europe and North America on a regular basis. Keeping in mind that NATO is primarily a mutual defence alliance, the NATO PA is not only the proper forum, but probably the best forum, for us to discuss transatlantic economic concerns.

So, I started talking with a couple of colleagues, Rui Gomes da Silva of Portugal and Alan Williams of the United Kingdom, during one NATO PA session. We all worried about the possible spillover effect of those trade disputes on NATO. At the same time, we recognized that in the Economic Committee we had a roomful of politicians from Europe and North America who understood economic issues and cared about the transatlantic relationship.

The Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations was born from these discussions among three friends. We worked with the chairman of the Economic Committee, Jos van Gennip of the Netherlands, and the director, Paul Cook, to develop the idea, and the sub-committee was created at our annual session in Berlin in November 2000. Alan was elected the first chairman of the sub-committee, and Rui and I became the first co-rapporteurs, ensuring that both European and North American points of view would be reflected in the

sub-committee reports. In my four years as co-rapporteur, first with Rui and then with Mike Gapes of the United Kingdom, we addressed not only transatlantic trade, but issues like migration, outsourcing and economic development as well.

As a member of the US Congress, I have found that the NATO PA meetings have helped me enormously with respect to understanding the concerns of Europeans and Canadians in a more personal and direct way, and have enabled me to explain the European point of view to my colleagues. Our delegation travels to Brussels every February for joint committee meetings, which always include a day at the European Union headquarters to discuss issues like trade and competition policy. Jos van Gennip and I have had many discussions – he's a farmer and a good friend – on agriculture subsidies and biotechnology, and he's helped me understand the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy and its relation to US Department of Agriculture subsidies for our farmers. One comes to understand that neither of us has clean hands when it comes to subsidies.

Hopefully, as the relationship matures, we can avoid constantly going to the World Trade Organization to settle our trade differences. It would be far preferable to work out political compromises than to go through the WTO dispute mechanism, where there is a winner and loser, without a good result for either side. Both the United States and Europe would suffer if we got into an all-out trade war, and if our economies suffer, our ability to fund the military transformation we need to make in NATO will surely suffer as well.

As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, the main panel for writing tax and trade legislation in the US House of Representatives, I have always had an interest in trade issues, but those are not what brought me to the Assembly a dozen years ago. I served in the US Navy from 1968 to 1972 and went on to serve 26 years in the Tennessee National Guard, so I had a predilection toward military affairs. My father served in Europe during World War II and fought in the Battle of the Bulge, which gave me an interest in European military history and made it natural for me to get involved in the NATO PA. I am proud to have been able to serve as a NATO PA Vice-President in 2003 and 2004, which allowed me to play a role in governing this Assembly and shaping its future.

I have come to view this as a part of my job, almost as much as going home to my district to meet with my constituents. It is something I need to do in order to do my job properly, but there are sacrifices. We in the House delegation give up a lot of our recesses – the weeks that the House is not in session – so we can go to Europe and engage with other parliamentarians on the important questions in transatlantic relations. Every May, we miss observances on Memorial Day – when we honour our war dead – so that we can attend the spring session. We could be spending recesses at home in the district, meeting with constituents, or maybe taking a rare vacation, but the importance of the NATO PA meetings makes the time away from home worthwhile.

The NATO PA has given North American members a chance to forge close personal relationships not only with our European colleagues, but also among ourselves. In recent years, there has been a strong friendship between the US and Canadian delegations, with members like Pierre Claude Nolin and David Price, whom I was sorry to see leave the House of Commons. Assembly meetings have given members of our own delegation a chance to know one another. At times, the US Congress is so divided by raw partisanship that it is hard for Democrats to reach across the aisle and talk with Republicans. It is helpful to us to travel together overseas because, as the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg once said, politics ends at the water's edge. When we travel to Europe, we go not as Democrats and Republicans, but as Americans. I have made some of my best friends in the Congress on these trips, many of them Republicans like the late Herb Bateman and the late Norm Sisisky. Doug Bereuter, who led our delegation for a decade, and I have become fast friends, as have our wives.

The author during a visit to US Forces in Iraq, November 2003.

As the Assembly looks toward its second half-century, I am confident that it will continue to reflect the concerns and opinions of legislators on both sides of the Atlantic with regard to NATO and the broader transatlantic relationship. Perhaps the most immediate challenge for the Assembly is to ensure that Alliance governments develop the capabilities that are needed for the NATO Response Force. The war on international terrorism is a war of civilization versus barbarity, and it is not just the United States that is at risk, as we saw – to cite just two examples – in Madrid in March 2004 and in London in July of this year. The United States may be the sole military superpower today, but all civilized people have a stake in a positive outcome. As an alliance of democracies, NATO must help defeat those who threaten our security today, and the Assembly must work in the future to ensure that NATO has the capabilities it needs.

* * *

"When we think of the huge expenditures we are making for the NATO combined forces, with as little civilian control as now exists, and when we think of the need for approaching the question of trade on some other basis than from a purely national viewpoint, emphasis is given to the idea that some new instrument will have to be forged to meet the present situation in world affairs."

(Senator Wishart McL. Robertson, Senate of Canada, 1952)

Pierre Claude Nolin
Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Member of the Canadian Delegation. Former Chairman of the Science and Technology Committee.

Since the French explorer Jacques Cartier landed on the shores of Quebec's Gaspé Peninsula in 1534, the people who have lived in the land that in 1867 would become Canada have always had a keen interest in Europe's political, economic and military developments because of the significant influence of these developments on those in their own country.

In fact, the many European wars waged between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries shaped the borders of what would become Canada when it was still just a French and then British colony. The numerous famines that devastated Europe over several centuries would lead to a diversified Canada, with a strong cultural mosaic, built on massive influxes of immigrants from Ireland, Scotland and Eastern Europe. Over the years, the presence of ever-greater numbers of those new Canadians has contributed significantly to strengthening political ties and trade activity between Canadians and Europeans.

The Second World War also led to closer relations between Canada and Europe. Despite internal tensions over Canada's support of the United Kingdom in fighting Nazi Germany, we were quick to take up arms from September 1939 through 1945. We stood in defence of democracy, individual freedoms, the rule of law and the right of European peoples to express their differences, and fought to bring political and military stability back to the continent.

In order to do so, more than one million Canadians served full-time in the armed forces between 1939 and 1945: 731,000 in the army, 106,000 in the navy – deployed in the very dangerous North Atlantic waters to supply the United Kingdom and the allied forces stationed there – and 250,000 in the air force.

At dawn on 6 June 1944, some 14,000 courageous Canadians landed on the beaches of Normandy to launch with their allies one of the most important military campaigns in history. It would eventually lead to the fall of Adolf Hitler and the liberation of Europe from fascism, torpor and hate. This operation would likely not have succeeded had it not been for the sacrifice of hundreds of brave Canadian soldiers at Dieppe in 1942, the participation of the Royal Navy of Canada, which provided more than 110 ships and 10,000 sailors that fateful day, and finally the involvement of the Royal Canadian Air Force with its 15 fighter and fighter-bomber squadrons to support the allied operations.

Canada played an important role in the defeat of the Axis powers. However, the cost of this victory was great for such a young country. On D-Day, Canadian casualties totalled 1,074, including 359 dead. Thousands more Canadians laid down their lives in Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands. Over the course of the war, close to 23,000 Canadians lost their lives in the army, 17,000 in the air force and 1,600 in the merchant navy. Some 54,000 other Canadians were wounded and thousands more bore scars, both physical and psychological, for the rest of their lives.

The Second World War was barely over when Canada had to confront the menacing threat of the expansion of communism through military and subversive political campaigns orchestrated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in a post-war Europe, devastated and greatly weakened from the destruction of its political, economic and social infrastructures. This problem was complicated by the resurgence of US isolationism in the months leading up to the end of the conflict.

Canada played a key role in the creation of the Alliance and in the insertion of Article 2, with its emphasis on political and economic co-operation. Lester B Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs signing the North Atlantic Treaty, 4 April 1949.

As a result, in 1947, Escott Reid, an official with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, was the first to float the idea of creating – in addition to the UN – what was intended to be a temporary military alliance in the North Atlantic region. The mandate of this alliance was to ensure the stability of Western Europe, which Canada and the United States relied on, to strengthen transatlantic ties, to promote the values of a society founded on democracy and individual freedoms, and finally, to defend the rule of law in the face of the communist threat.

Other Canadians, such as Lester B. Pearson and Louis St-Laurent – who would later become Prime Ministers, took up this idea, and it was put to the United States and the United Kingdom. Any hesitations were quickly put aside when Soviet forces overtook Czechoslovakia and communists played a major role in Italian elections. Official negotiations commenced in 1948, which led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was first and foremost a military alliance designed to promote the collective defence of the Euro-Atlantic region in times of peace. But its Canadian supporters knew from the outset that it would need to have political and economic objectives if it were to work, and if the North Atlantic community were to be developed. In fact, it was unthinkable to promote unity and stability, as well as military and political co-operation within the new alliance without eliminating trade conflicts among the Allies. After intense negotiations, Canada managed to have inserted a "Canadian article" into the Treaty to realize this objective. Article 2 reads as follows: *"The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."*

Today, it can be said that Canada's goal was not fully realized. But while the collapse of communism and the worsening of the international political situation since the attacks of 11 September 2001, have severely tested the solidarity of member countries, Article 2 is hardly obsolete. It still has an important role to play in maintaining transatlantic relations based on harmony and mutual respect.

Since 1949 Canadians, as I mentioned, have always felt that NATO should be more than just a military alliance. This same spirit was behind the creation of NATO's Parliamentary Assembly some 50 years ago.

Since its creation, Canada has made a significant contribution to the development of NATO and as a result, our military presence in Europe had, until the end of the Cold War, a noteworthy political and operational importance.

According to a report written by the Senate of Canada's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs in April 2000, Canada allocated more than 8% of its GDP to defence in 1953, which represented a huge increase compared to the 1.4% allocated in 1947. During the final year of the Korean War, the defence budget-to-GDP ratio put Canada in 4th place among NATO member countries, when some 45% of all federal government spending went to defence. Moreover, Canada had a European aid programme through which, for example, Great Britain could access advanced combat planes like the F-86 Sabres. Beginning in 1951, the Canadian forces deployed in Europe included a well-equipped brigade group and an air division that counted in the end 12 squadrons with 240 aircraft. At one point, the Royal Canadian Air Force in Europe had more advanced combat planes than even the United States Air Force.

This rapid growth in the military role of NATO in a world sharply divided between two diametrically opposed ideologies was a concern to several parliamentarians in Canada

and Europe. For example, in 1952 Senator Wishart McL. Robertson spoke of the need to create a new organization to strengthen the civil monitoring of the activities of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), as expressed in the quotation at the beginning of this article. Such activities would otherwise be left to the traditional actors in international diplomacy: governments, ministers, diplomats and military officers. This organization would also, to a lesser extent, promote Article 2 of the Treaty. At the same time, a British MP, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, came up with the idea of gathering together parliamentarians from the member countries of NATO in a consultative assembly that would become something of a political arm of the Alliance.

While political discussions on this issue were occurring in the political institutions of North America and Western Europe, NATO officials and government officials mandated to develop the Alliance's initial defence policies were obviously less enthusiastic about Senator Robertson's and Sir Geoffrey de Freitas' vision. In a world that was under the constant threat of a third world war that could lead to a nuclear apocalypse, the stability of the North Atlantic could not be compromised by increased parliamentary oversight of NATO operations and more input from parliamentarians in a decision-making process that was already difficult due to the need to reach consensus, the perils of international diplomacy, and the often conflicting national interests of member countries.

None of this prevented 158 parliamentarians from meeting, with the urging of Senator Robertson, in Paris on 18 July 1955, in order to create the NATO Conference of Parliamentarians. This became the North Atlantic Assembly in 1966, and later today's NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Once again, as we had done in the 1940s, Canada started a movement to strengthen transatlantic ties through co-operation and dialogue among parliamentarians, through sharing information and mutual understanding. It was not surprising, therefore, that Senator Robertson was elected as the first President of our Assembly, in 1955. In addition to Senator Robertson, two other Canadian parliamentarians – Jean-Eudes Dubé and Charles Terrence Murphy, in 1966-1967 and 1971-1972 respectively – have chaired the Assembly since its inception.

With the benefit of the hindsight that history gives us, we can see that the creation and development of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly was a critical event for the North Atlantic community, sustaining it through the Cold War.

The Assembly promoted greater accountability for the NAC, particularly during the political crises that marked that period in history. It helped to build consensus among parliamentarians from Alliance member countries, thereby supporting the work of diplomats and governments at headquarters in Brussels who were seeking common ground. And in the end, the Assembly became a centralized source that better informed parliamentarians on

strategic issues affecting the North Atlantic region. Thanks to the work of the Assembly, parliamentarians could inform their respective voters on NATO activities and decisions, which traditional diplomacy did not allow for.

In the period following the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, and the crumbling of communism two years later, with the resulting disintegration of the USSR, the role of the Parliamentary Assembly has become even greater as it adapts to the new challenges faced by NATO.

Some European security analysts seriously doubted the usefulness of the Alliance once the Cold War ended and were even predicting the year of its demise. But this did not prevent a significant shift in its mandate to respond to the new geopolitical reality facing the North Atlantic community. As violent ethnic conflicts broke out in the Balkans and in certain former Soviet republics, NATO's defence and security policies had to be completely reviewed and revised to suit an increasingly unstable world. It became clear that international events, which were sometimes far-removed from the Euro-Atlantic region and less conventional and more dramatic than events that had dominated headlines throughout the Cold War, could nonetheless threaten the security and stability of member countries.

In 1990, Canada and other allied countries proposed broadening NATO's mandate, which until then had focussed mainly on collective defence in order to promote collective security, to include having East European countries join the Alliance, establishing relations with regions beyond its territory, specifically North Africa and the Middle East, peacekeeping, responding to natural disasters and civil emergencies, controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction and protecting the environment.

Consequently, a series of innovative initiatives was undertaken by NATO to meet these new challenges, and these initiatives formed the basis of the new Strategic Concept that was adopted in Washington in 1999. In 1994, the Partnership for Peace programme was set up to promote defence co-operation among allied countries and non member countries from the Euro-Atlantic region, to improve stability and to promote the democratic values that are the foundation of NATO. In 1997, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) replaced the North Atlantic Co-operation Council as a body of consultation and co-operation. The EAPC deals with a wider range of issues than its predecessor and gives non member countries a greater role. Along with these other two initiatives, the Mediterranean Dialogue was also launched in 1994.

Another important step in the Alliance's transformation process was at the Paris Summit in 1997, when the member countries adopted the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation. This historic Agreement led to the official normalization of relations between Russian authorities and the Alliance, the opening of an information office in Moscow, increased parliamentary

and military exchanges and the creation of the NATO-Russia Council in May 2002. A similar agreement was concluded with Ukraine in 1997.

During the Washington Summit of 1999, NATO welcomed three new members, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. More recently, in March 2004, seven Eastern European countries officially joined the Alliance after having successfully completed all the steps set out in the Membership Action Plan (MAP), which was launched in 1999.

Finally, NATO undertook a series of peacekeeping missions, specifically in the former Yugoslavia. It also became actively involved in the fight against terrorism when Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty was invoked in September 2001, in order to respond to new threats to the stability of the Euro-Atlantic region.

Canadians in the field. The author with Jane Cordy, Head of the Canadian Delegation and Mrs Cordy's brother, Cdr Charlie MacKinnon serving with Canadian Forces in ISAF, during a NATO PA visit to Afghanistan, March 2005.

Canada was a vocal supporter of these changes and strongly supported all of the above reforms and initiatives because they dovetailed with our foreign and national defence policy, and they helped promote the fundamental NATO values shared by Canadians, and strengthened the North Atlantic community. Since 1995, Canada has also played an active role in many NATO military and peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, and it is currently heading an international security assistance force in Afghanistan, where almost 2,000 Canadian soldiers are deployed.

In the fall of 1994, I was invited to attend the annual session of the Assembly, taking place in Washington. My colleague, Senator Earl Hastings, who was at the time chairman of the Science and Technology Committee, asked me if I would help him with the work of the committee. I agreed to write a special report on the new Partnership for Peace programme. After taking up the challenge enthusiastically, I was elected Vice-Chairman in November 1996, then Chairman from 2000 to 2004. Today, I serve as the General Rapporteur for the Committee, and in November 2004, my colleagues gave me the honour of their confidence by making me the Vice-President of the Assembly.

First, let me say that over the last ten years, the members of the Assembly have deftly risen to the challenges brought about as a result of the NATO reforms that I have described above.

Not only did the Partnership for Peace, the addition of new member countries through the MAP process and the creation of co-operation councils with Russia and Ukraine

demonstrate, yet again, the importance of the Assembly in the dissemination of information and the promotion of fruitful interparliamentary relations, but they also allowed parliamentarians from member countries of the Alliance to:

- study a broader range of issues that sometimes went beyond Euro-Atlantic borders and mere military issues when applying the notion of collective security;
- promote the introduction of democracy throughout the Euro-Atlantic region among parliamentarians from bordering regions by allowing third countries to participate in the Assembly's work;
- help legislative institutions from countries seeking to complete the NATO membership adhesion process;
- strengthen interparliamentary co-operation with countries who prefer to work with, rather than join, the Alliance; and
- help create the parliamentary expertise and mechanisms that are necessary for real and effective democratic monitoring of military activities.

Canadian parliamentarians have played an important part in realizing each of these objectives designed to strengthen collective security in the North Atlantic community.

On a personal note, the broadening of the Assembly's mandate allowed me to accomplish several goals.

Together with my colleagues from the Science and Technology Committee, we carried out a series of studies on important issues in fields such as the environment, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, in order to build consensus among Assembly members on issues that might affect, in one way or another, our collective security. We studied the effects of the thinning ozone layer, climate change and the human health repercussions, the use of weapons made from depleted uranium, the proliferation of chemical and nuclear weapons, and technologies used to manufacture them around the world, trade in conventional weapons, technologies used by intelligence agencies and terrorist groups, the militarization of space, energy sources of the future, the security of Eastern Europe and Russia's nuclear complex. This process was often quite interesting, as we had to learn to practise, with the help of the Committee staff, the art of parliamentary diplomacy in order to overcome the often divergent national interests. I must point out that my Canadian colleagues on other Assembly committees honed these same skills.

Since the Founding Act on relations between NATO and Russia was adopted in 1997, I have also attended meetings of the Joint Monitoring Group on the NATO-Russia Founding Act and meetings of the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee involving leaders of the Assembly's delegations and those of the delegations of the Russian Duma and the Federation Council. It was not always easy to establish interparliamentary dialogue with my Russian

counterparts, who were at times mistrustful of NATO, but it might surprise people to learn how ice hockey managed, on a few occasions, to overcome obstacles in the form of our own respective prejudices.

Canadians have as strong an affinity to hockey as Russians; the sport of aboriginal ancestry is a part of both our national identities. We have been aware of this shared pride in hockey since the famous and historic 1972 series of the century between Canada and Russia. Be it in Moscow or Montreal, Saint Petersburg or Calgary, hockey is like a religion. In the middle of the Cold War, the star players from both countries met for a series of eight exciting games to determine which country would take the world title in this northern sport. Well before the first game, most experts thought that Canada would win easily. However, after a series of spectacularly strong showings by Russia, the Canadian team was behind and the possibility of a Russian victory became very real. In the end, after a hard-fought battle, Canada took the series. This event demonstrated that it was possible to establish friendly relations between the East and the West. The series of the century was in some ways a good example of the *détente* in relations between North America and Russia in the past 40 years.

That said, during my first meeting with Russian parliamentarians, I met Victor Ozerov, a former hockey player who is now a member of the Council of the Federation. We identified that we shared this common value, which allowed us to defuse any tension, mistrust or difference of opinion that had marked our first meeting.

In the years that followed, NATO's military intervention in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the war in Iraq, as well as the problems with the slow progress in reforms, led to a brief weakening of ties between the Assembly and Russian parliamentarians. But overall, the establishment of relations with Russia has allowed NATO parliamentarians to promote the democratization of the Russian political system, the modernization of the judicial system, and the improved monitoring of weapons of mass destruction, the Russian armed forces and nuclear complex. The dialogue has also helped me realize just how high westerners' expectations were when it came to the ability of Russian citizens and authorities to start from scratch after living with an ideological system that was very different from ours, one that controlled every sphere of Russian society for more than 70 years. Since 2002, I have used every means available to encourage my Russian counterparts to play an active role in the work of the Science and Technology Committee to improve interparliamentary dialogue and to make the relations between the Alliance and Russia more transparent. I firmly believe that parliamentary diplomacy will help reach this ambitious goal, which I hope will benefit all member countries of NATO.

I also met with parliamentarians from the many other countries, in addition to Russia, that took part in the MAP information sessions and which are now NATO member countries.

This was a rewarding experience in many ways. It allowed me to deepen – as was the case with Russia – my understanding of East European customs and values, their political and economic systems, and the reforms that have been implemented in this region. The experience has also allowed me to share this information with my Canadian, American and European colleagues, and to realize, over the years, the really spectacular progress that has been made by some of these countries in order to become members of our Alliance.

Our involvement in the parliamentary activities of the MAP was important because we helped the Assembly better define its objectives for promoting parliamentary dialogue in Eastern Europe. We also helped with the process of expanding NATO based on its own directives, while respecting the unique characteristics of the countries that were invited to join in order to strengthen the collective security of the North Atlantic community.

Canadians witnessed the importance of this organization during the annual session, which was held in Ottawa, in October 2001 – only a few weeks after the terrible attacks of 11 September in the United States. A broad consensus was reached at this meeting among the parliamentarians present in favour of involving the North Atlantic community in the fight against terrorism. This unity then spread to all of the parliaments represented in Ottawa.

All of these thoughts about the evolution of the Assembly since it was created in 1955, and more specifically since 1989, lead me to end this text by asking the following question: what does the future hold for the Assembly? It is clear that diplomacy and interparliamentary dialogue will play an increasingly important role not only in maintaining relations with our new partners in Eastern Europe, but also in developing dialogue with the Middle East, the Caucasus and the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia. As NATO's influence extends eastward, parliamentarians will need to take up the task of promoting the values that have helped our community come together, prosper and protect its collective security for more than 55 years now, while respecting the traditions that exist in these countries.

Through its committees, the Assembly will continue to study complex issues. One of these committees is of utmost importance for NATO countries such as Canada that border the polar region. Once limited to discussions of mostly military and strategic issues, the Arctic region has again sparked interest following the publication of a series of alarming scientific reports on aging Russian military equipment and the repercussions on the fragile North and Barents Seas, as well as the rapid melting of the polar ice cap with all of the ensuing threats as a result of the stability of the northern hemisphere's climate. The Assembly has a responsibility to study these important issues that could affect the collective security of the Euro-Atlantic zone.

My involvement with the work of the Assembly has afforded me the opportunity to establish genuine connections with parliamentarians from diverse places. It has also taught

me that, despite the dire predictions of some observers, the Assembly will prove to be an excellent tool to promote the North Atlantic community, an interparliamentary forum that is both unique and essential to the existence of NATO. Our Alliance will intervene where needed to protect global stability and promote the fundamental values that make up its mission. The Canadian parliamentarians who will carry out the work of the Assembly will need to remind their government of the relevance and importance of NATO so that it will continue to meet the challenges of guaranteeing our collective security in the twenty-first century.

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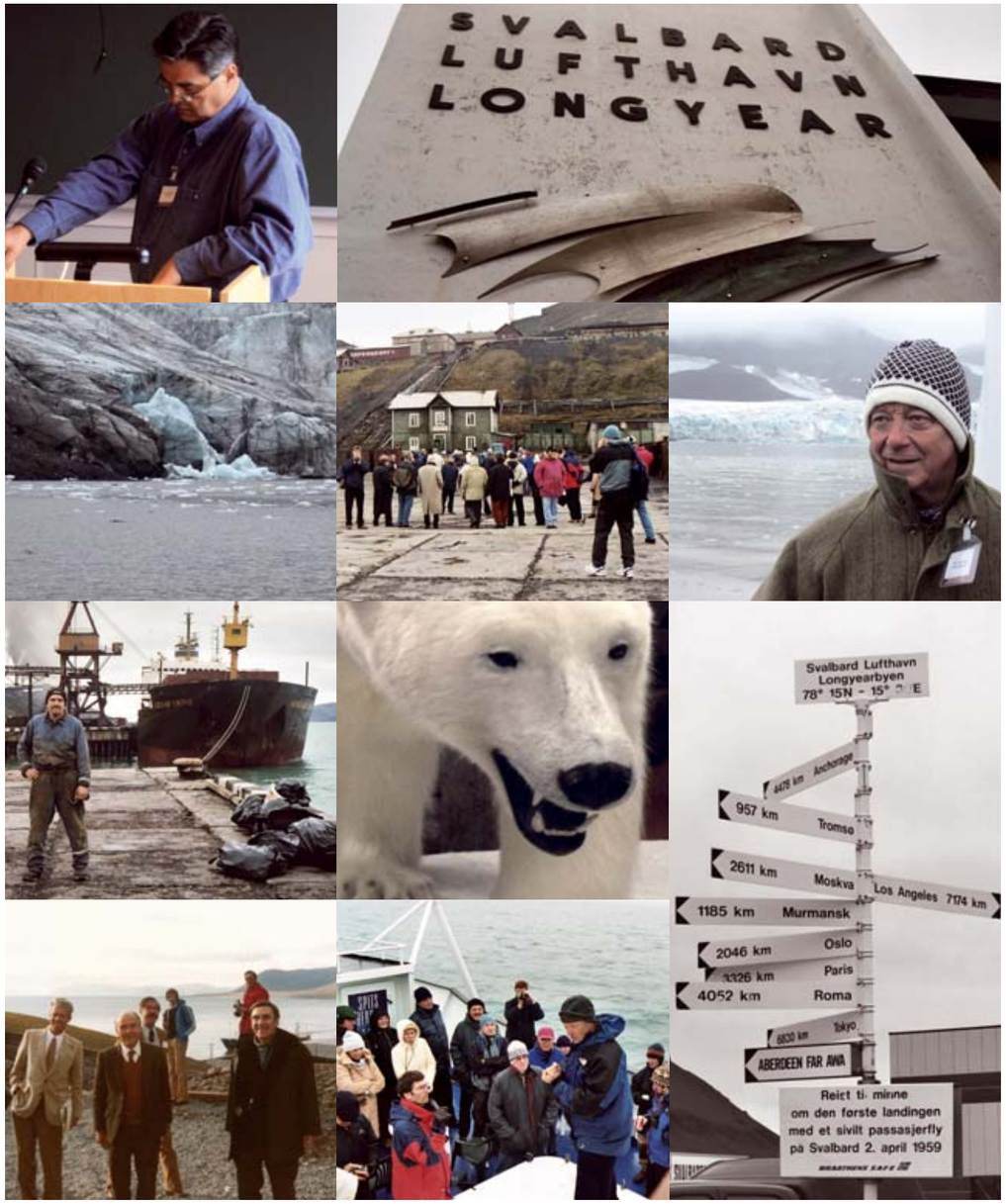

Snapshots of Spitzbergen, 1979 and August 2004.

CHAPTER 11 Northern Security

Jan Tore Sanner
Head of the Norwegian Delegation.

Norway is the northernmost part of the North Atlantic Alliance that borders on Russia. Our common land and sea borders with the former Soviet Union, and its large military bases on the Kola peninsula, gave NATO's Northern Flank a high strategic importance during the Cold War – a term which was more than a metaphor at our Arctic latitude.

Although the Northern Flank no longer dominates our *military* efforts and strategies – and rightly so – the High North continues to be of immense strategic importance. One positive aspect is the forthcoming offshore exploration and production of oil and gas in Arctic waters, and the likely opening of the North-Eastern sea route. The other aspect is a frightening one: the threat to our collective security posed by a number of interlinked environmental threats.

This time Norway, Russia, the European Union, the United States and the entire international community must be fighting on the same side. No military means will help, only sound environmental strategies, scientific research and close exchange of information must be employed by us all. US Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar were among the first to act in order to bring Soviet-era WMDs under control. Other international initiatives have also been taken since the end of the Cold War. However, the pace of these efforts must be stepped up radically.

In this article I will attempt to provide a brief background of where we – Norway and the entire Alliance – are coming from, historically speaking, when we look at the High North, then discuss the immense problems we are facing in the Arctic, and conclude with some personal remarks about the work and future of our Assembly.

The occupation of Norway by Nazi Germany during the Second World War, and our subsequent liberation by Western and Soviet troops, transformed a long-standing Norwegian foreign policy tradition. The Nordic doctrine of neutrality had failed miserably in our case. Norway became an active proponent for, and founding member of, NATO in 1949, with the support of both the Conservative and Labour parties in our parliament, the *Storting*.

Nevertheless Norway's traditions, combined with our recent war experience, produced a very specific Norwegian vision of the Alliance throughout the Cold War. Norway insisted that military deterrence had to be accompanied by diplomacy and confidence-building measures on the ground to keep the peace with our Russian neighbours.

One key Norwegian concern was for NATO to be an Alliance of democracies, where civilian politicians are firmly in command of military forces and thinking. Leading members of the *Storting*'s Foreign Affairs Committee, among them Finn Moe (Labour), C. J. Hambro (Conservative) and others, were convinced that a parliamentary channel into the workings of the new Alliance was crucial in order to secure popular support for it, as well as to provide a sound basis for parliamentary-governmental decision making in security policy. They teamed up with like-minded colleagues in other NATO countries, who in the course of a few years succeeded in establishing a permanent parliamentary structure for NATO – our NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

No less important was Norway's determination to avoid a *permanent* foreign military build-up on Norwegian soil, arguing that this could be interpreted as offensive when viewed through Soviet cross-hairs. All NATO installations in Norway thus had to be of a clearly defensive nature, while allowing swift NATO action in case of an attack from the East.

In the early fifties the strategic value of Norway – and Iceland – was due to their location on the air route between North America and North-Western Russia, bombers being the key military technology at the time; Norway argued that NATO air bases with foreign forces on Norwegian soil would destabilise, rather than secure, the Northern Flank.

The result was a compromise: construction of new military and civilian airfields at some strategic locations, permanent storage of munitions and equipment nearby, regular military exercises involving NATO troops from many allied countries, but no *permanent* foreign aircraft or personnel, and – very significantly – no nuclear weapons on Norwegian soil during peace time, for whatever reason. Norway deliberately avoided building an airport on the Spitzbergen islands until the 1970s, despite a clear civilian need. Furthermore, the area closest to the Russian border, between the 24th and 27th longitude north, was completely demilitarised to begin with, and any Allied activity there had to be cleared with the Norwegian Government.

Until the 1960s the High North was important in NATO's doctrine, but no more so than continental Europe. The Norwegian Labour Governments at the time still believed in

the virtue of bilateral diplomacy with the Soviet Union: the first prime minister and the first foreign minister from a NATO country to visit Moscow after 1949 were both from Norway.

From the 1960s, however, the strategic value of the High North dramatically increased on both sides of the NATO-Soviet border with the introduction of nuclear attack submarines with long-range nuclear missiles. By 1985, two out of three Soviet nuclear submarines were stationed near the Norwegian border in the ice-free fjords of the Kola peninsula; they ventured far into the Atlantic and made regular incursions into Norwegian territorial waters. The Russian city of Murmansk grew to be the largest city in the region, and still remains so today.

In the two latter decades of the Cold War, it was critical for NATO to monitor every square mile of the Barents, Norwegian, North and Baltic Seas, and to gather as much intelligence as possible across the border, particularly on the nuclear submarines.

In 1979 the *Storting* invited a NATO PA delegation to Spitzbergen. The Group landed in the recently constructed airport near Longyearbyen, and the programme included a boat trip to the vicinity of the Russian mining city of Barentsburg, drawing strong objections from the Russian side.

As you may well remember, in the Cold War setting, environmental considerations were almost non-existent. Now they top our agenda. A warm peace is accompanied by disturbing scientific research documenting rapid warming in the Arctic, with global repercussions already in this century.

After 1989, military tension and political isolation were rapidly replaced by an open border, active trade, tourism, and – last but not least – on-going preparations to extract the vast oil and natural gas resources that have been discovered in the Arctic continental shelf.

The old Soviet fleet of nuclear submarines was inherited by the Russian Federation. The vessels are by now rusty and permanently moored at Murmansk and nearby bases. Some are in such a bad shape that they have sunk to the bottom and remain there. Although the nuclear warheads had been removed, the nuclear reactors and fuel rods are in many cases still on board, and these pose new types of security threat: radiological pollution into the sea, or theft by terrorists aiming to produce dirty bombs.

Several bilateral and multilateral mechanisms were established in the 1990s to help the Russian authorities clean up nuclear materials from both military and civilian sources. Although significant progress has been made, nuclear waste remains a serious security threat in the Arctic that must be dealt with systematically and thoroughly by all parties concerned.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly returned to Spitzbergen for a Rose-Roth conference on the polar region in August 2004. About 5,000 polar bears inhabit these islands, an arctic archipelago some 1,000 kilometres north of Norway. More bears than humans consider these islands their home. The bears are known to venture regularly into Longyearbyen,

the largest Norwegian settlement on the islands. NATO parliamentarians rightly identified the bears as a direct security threat and exercised due caution.

The keynote speakers were leading Norwegian and international experts on polar issues. The conference was organised jointly by the NATO PA Secretariat and the Norwegian delegation to the NATO PA, and was competently led by Senator Pierre Claude Nolin of Canada, Chairman of the NATO PA Science and Technology Committee. Conference facilities were generously provided by the University Centre in Longyearbyen – the northernmost university in the world.

We also copied the previous visit in 1979 by sailing to Barentsburg, although this time we were welcomed ashore and received a guided tour. At that time the town was populated mainly by Ukrainian nationals, something the Ukrainian members of our delegation quickly discovered.

The author and Allon Groth, Secretary of the Norwegian delegation on the boat from Longyearbyen to Barentsburg, Spitzbergen, August 2004.

The indoor and largest part of the conference included expert analyses of the complex environmental processes in the Arctic and their security implications.

The head of the Norwegian Polar Institute, Dr. Olav Orheim, established already at the outset that humans pose an overwhelming threat to polar bears and other arctic wildlife, not the other way around. The extent of the arctic ice shield in the summer is rapidly diminishing due to global warming. This development is closely connected to the dramatic increase of CO_2 in the atmosphere, measured through advanced ice core analysis that is being conducted on the islands.

The melting of the polar ice shield will soon have adverse consequences for arctic wildlife, particularly seals and polar bears, whose summer habitat will be steadily shrinking. The melting of ice on land, such as on Greenland, will additionally contribute to a rising sea level. The North Sea is already rising two millimetres annually; the Netherlands is sinking almost equally as fast. A rising sea level is also a constant threat to places such as Venice, where the Assembly's annual session was kindly hosted by the Italian delegation only a few months after our Longyearbyen conference.

Polar ice and waters are undergoing not only a warming process, but also a polluting process. Dangerous pollutants from around the world keep circulating in air and water currents, long after their production has ceased, and tend to accumulate in the Arctic. The highest concentration of pollutants is obviously found at the top of the food chain, i.e. in mammals. This is a reason for concern to bear, seal and human alike.

Although Norwegian authorities enforce rigid environmental regulations, including a total ban on hunting, bears and seals are thus threatened by a permanent transformation of their entire habitat due to processes originating elsewhere on the globe. This process will already lead to far-reaching consequences in this century.

During the seminar the consequences of polar warming were seen to be providing economic potentials as well: A polar sea route between the North Atlantic and China will be easier to maintain with a thinner ice cover; oil and gas installations in the Barents Sea will be easier to set up and operate; and human settlement in polar areas will be made easier. While such projects may be attractive from an economic viewpoint, it is important to lay down strict environmental and other regulations from the outset. International co-ordination will be necessary to enforce them.

The director of the European Union's Environmental Agency (EEA), Jacqueline McGlade, described its activities in, and co-operation with, countries and agencies in the Northern region. One of the main focusses was pollution, which the EEA was measuring in a large number of locations across Europe as part of its Global Monitoring for Environment and Security (GMES) programme.

The Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jan Petersen, concluded the seminar by outlining Norwegian, European and US co-operation with the Russian Federation on dismantling non-strategic submarines and providing safe storage facilities for nuclear waste. The G8 countries' Global Partnership, supported by US$20 billion worth of project funds, is making a positive impact.

The magnitude of the nuclear challenge was also illustrated by the head of the Norwegian environmental NGO Bellona, Mr Frederic Hauge, who shared with us a number of disturbing slides taken at various nuclear sites on the Kola Peninsula, the world's largest concentration of nuclear material. We also learned that a similar situation persists along Russia's Pacific coast in the East, but so far with far less international attention.

Only a few months after the Longyearbyen conference, a comprehensive study of Arctic warming, the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), was released by the Arctic Council. The study provides further documentation of the processes and issues that were discussed in August.

One very disturbing projection in the ACIA report is that by 2070 the polar ice cap could completely disappear during the summer months. I will probably not live until 2070 but my children might. They have no memories at all from the Cold War; on the other hand I soon expect them, and later possible grandchildren, to start confronting me about what I, as a member of parliament with a certain influence, did to draw international attention to this frightening development in the Arctic? Did I give this issue the priority it deserves? Did I try to save endangered Arctic species such as polar bears, animals which in a

few decades will only be exotic exhibits in zoos? I sincerely hope they will find my answers convincing.

In this context, I was very pleased to see that the Science and Technology Committee of our Assembly decided at the annual session in Venice in November 2004 to place the environmental threats in the Arctic region high up on its agenda. Two reports, one on nuclear waste and the other on global warming, have been produced for our session in Ljubljana in May-June 2005. This is a very good beginning.

I will conclude with two personal remarks about the value of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly for Norwegian parliamentarians in 2005, the 100th anniversary of Norway as a free nation, a freedom that at times could not be taken for granted.

First, Norway remains a committed member of NATO, a supporter of NATO enlargement, a contributor to NATO missions abroad and a partner in the fight against terrorism. This commitment is unshakeable.

At the same time, while having gained access to the European Single Market and participation in the Schengen co-operation, endeavouring to participate in EU Battle Groups, and continuously incorporating a wide range of EU laws and regulations – Norway is regrettably not a member of the European Union. The matter was decided by a relatively narrow margin at a referendum exactly eleven years ago, as well as in 1972.

While respecting the referendum, I and the Norwegian Conservative party believe that Norway had thus isolated itself from key decision-making bodies and processes that unite more and more of our European neighbours, and that this isolation cannot continue. I also find it ironic that my country supports any country in Europe that wishes to join the Union – except our own.

Where does the NATO PA fit into the picture? The Assembly provides many opportunities, both at debates, conferences and coffee tables, to gain insight into European security policy thinking and other issues of vital importance to Norway. It is simply a fact that NATO is no longer the sole security policy forum in Europe. We Norwegians are very keen on NATO and the European Union maintaining a close co-operation and a clear division of labour, and avoiding any competition that could severely weaken both.

Thus my participation in the Assembly allows me to contribute to the strong parliamentary and democratic underpinning of our Alliance, to exchange views with colleagues from NATO and EU countries, and raise issues of concern to my country. The transformation of the High North is a good example of this.

Second, Norway has given supreme priority to the transatlantic relationship ever since 1949, including its parliamentary dimension within this Assembly. In recent years we have witnessed some serious strains on this relationship. In parallel, I and many other colleagues – including our US colleagues – have felt that the US-European dialogue within the NATO

PA could and should be strengthened, not least as concerns the US Senate, which most of the time is not represented around the table. I also made it very clear that this is in our common interest, that no-one is to blame, and that the complex structure of Assembly activities should be modified to give more dedicated time to the transatlantic dialogue. Only this, I believe, could help increase US participation even further.

I therefore took an initiative last year vis-à-vis President Pierre Lellouche to see what can be done, and the Standing Committee had an initial discussion of this issue in Reykjavik in April along with our friends from the US Congress. I am very pleased about that discussion and the concrete conclusions that we arrived at. By increasing the level and substance of our transatlantic dialogue we are giving the best possible contribution to the stability, relevance and centrality of our Assembly in the times to come.

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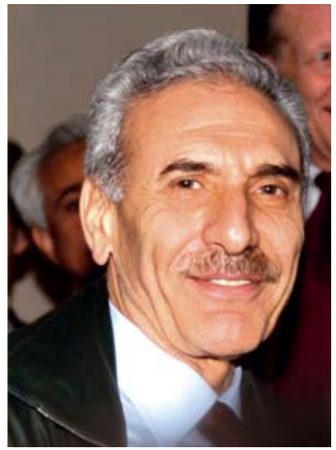
CHAPTER 12 The Caucasus and Central Asia



Vahit Erdem
Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Head of the Turkish Delegation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the strategically important regions of the Caucasus and Central Asia have moved again from the periphery to the centre of western attention. During the 1990s there was no coherent and meaningful strategy vis-à-vis these regions. The completion of transformation efforts in the Baltic states and in most Central and East European countries and the gradual progress in achieving a lasting stability in the Balkans have paved the way for a wider focus on the Caucasus and Central Asia. Most importantly, the emergence of new asymmetric threats and the first-ever NATO operation out-of-area in Afghanistan have generated a strategic reassessment of security in the Euro-Atlantic area. This has led to the recognition by NATO Heads of State and Government at NATO's Istanbul Summit in June 2004 of the pivotal position of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Summit pledged a special focus on engaging with partners in these strategically important regions.

There is, then, a general understanding that the Alliance should and can do more for the Caucasus and Central Asia. The defining criterion in establishing or deepening relations with any given country in today's international relations is adherence to fundamental values, democracy and basic human rights. Thus, western governments are often faced with the unenviable task of weighing legitimate concerns, highlighted by public opinion in their countries, about democratization and human rights against important strategic interests.

Despite the huge tasks facing both regions as they make their way towards democratization and the establishment of a proper market economy, a majority of these countries seem intent on moving in the right direction. Azerbaijan has made important progress in attracting foreign investment and in exploiting its natural resources. There is a vibrant political opposition. The revolution in Georgia in 2004 was an unprecedented and genuine

democratic move, reflecting the will of its people. In Central Asia, the Kyrgyz Republic succeeded in becoming a member of the World Trade Organization. Kazakhstan has made important progress towards a market economy and is opening up to foreign investment. However, the most important fact to note is the willingness voiced by all partners in both regions to deepen co-operation with western institutions, among which NATO holds an important place. In the Caucasus, Georgia and Azerbaijan have declared that integration with the West in general, and with NATO in particular, is their foreign policy priority. They have both subscribed to the partnership tools NATO has offered. All Central Asian states co-operate with NATO within the framework of the EAPC and the PfP. Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan signed the PfP Framework Document in 1994, while Tajikistan followed suit in February 2002. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan joined the Planning and Review Process (PARP) in 2002, through which the Alliance offers its defence-planning expertise to partner nations. Central Asian officers have been participating in seminars at the PfP training centre in Ankara, and Uzbekistan has expressed its readiness to host a PfP cell.

Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia have the status of Associate Member with the NATO PA. However, the Assembly has had very limited contacts with the five Central Asian republics. The first to seek formal relations was Kazakhstan whose request for Parliamentary Observer status was accepted by the Assembly at its Venice plenary session. Although there has been no official application from Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic, the intention of these countries to develop some sort of relationship with the Assembly has been made known to Assembly members.

In view of this genuine willingness among partners in both regions to develop closer relationships with the Alliance and the western world, there are three basic reasons why NATO and the NATO PA should not remain indifferent to the countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The primary reason why the Allies should intensify relations with both regions is the common understanding which the Alliance has reached in the post 11 September 2001 world. Security in the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond cannot be guaranteed if some components of that very same area remain fragile and vulnerable to the threats and fundamentalist tendencies that prepared the fertile ground for the advent of the taliban regime. This is particularly true for Central Asia. The social fabric in Central Asian states, particularly in those neighbouring Afghanistan, is not fully immune from the fundamentalist trends that, until recently, have plagued Afghanistan. Organized crime, porous borders and illegal migration are problems endemic to Central Asian states. These are problems that cannot be resolved by any country acting in isolation. These partners would need assistance from specialized institutions. Thanks to the array of activities it offers within PfP and the expertise it gained

in assisting Central and Eastern Europe in the last decade on military reform, NATO has the tools to carve itself an important role along with other institutions working in these regions to develop and consolidate democracy.

The second reason is the common fight against terrorism that we have embarked upon. Stabilizing and securing Afghanistan is NATO's highest priority. The Central Asian partners have pledged support to the efforts NATO and the international community are undertaking in Afghanistan by opening up their airspaces and by granting the use of Khanabad airbase (Uzbekistan) and Manas airport (the Kyrgyz Republic). The presence of US and other international armed forces in these states has an important symbolic effect in emphasizing Central Asia's links to the western world after a decade of obscurity and tenuous contacts. Partners from the Caucasus have also been crucial allies in the fight against terrorism. Azerbaijan is strategically located for the refuelling of cargo planes flying to Afghanistan. Azerbaijan has also sent peacekeeping troops to Kosovo and Afghanistan. Georgia has undertaken significant efforts to neutralize terrorist hotspots such as the Pankisi Valley.

The author and President Hamid Karzai, during a NATO PA visit to Afghanistan, March 2005.

The third reason is the issue of energy resources. Both regions enjoy considerable energy reserves which will be transported to Europe. Europe's need for energy resources will increase and it will need to diversify its sources of supply. Caspian oil and gas resources are of enormous significance to the welfare of western societies. Thus, consolidating stability and security in the Caucasus and Central Asia and securing a steady flow of energy resources towards Europe would have direct implications for the western world.

What role could the NATO PA assume in assisting these partners? The central objective of NATO's partnership policy is to help partners implement democratic reforms and establish effective democratic institutions, including bringing the security services and military establishments under effective civilian control. In general terms, NATO's outreach instruments to partners – Individual Partnership Programmes (IPP) – focus on military issues. However, the new generation of outreach tools, while preserving military-to-military aspects, includes a social and political dimension on which NATO parliamentarians are well suited to provide additional support and advice. The new mechanisms adopted in Prague, such as the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (PAP-T) and the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), as well as the Partnership Action Plan (PAP) agreed during the Istanbul Summit, are initiatives which would induce

reform, albeit at a modest pace, leading in time to the dissemination and consolidation of democratic practices. The IPAP and PAP are designed as part of a new generation of outreach tools specifically for the countries of these regions. So far, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Uzbekistan have applied for an IPAP while Kazakhstan has voiced its intention to join.

While the IPAP partners have formally displayed their will to embark on a reform process, they will need advice, in particular with regard to the first chapter of IPAP that focuses on domestic reform. There is a genuine and urgent need for the countries in both regions, at varying levels, to sustain the reforms most of them have initiated. In relation to domestic reforms, partners from the Caucasus and Central Asia will need to be advised on the crucial dilemma of how to fight terrorism without infringing upon basic liberties. This is a crucial issue where NATO parliamentarians, some of whom are citizens of countries which have witnessed and endured bitter experiences of terrorism, could provide substantial added value to the efforts NATO is providing. Fighting terrorism is indeed a difficult challenge – one that requires firmness and determination, as well as regional and trans-regional co-operation. But this challenge cannot be overcome at the expense of democratic institutions, fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. Otherwise, as sadly witnessed in Afghanistan, in an environment where these attributes do not exist, where they are underdeveloped or under threat, terrorism finds a fertile breeding ground.

Assembly President Rafael Estrella meeting the late President of Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, in Baku during an official visit, January 2002.

It goes without saying that the NATO PA's and individual parliamentarians' involvement in the support of NATO's initiatives is of particular importance.

A sensible first step would be to establish two separate dialogue groups within the NATO PA, for the Caucasus and Central Asia. These groups would ensure a more systematic and specialized focus on these regions within the NATO PA, as the Mediterranean Dialogue Group has done. Current human rights situations should not hinder our co-operation with these troubled regions. Isolation of these countries will only serve to further increase the dimension of these problems. If we remain reluctant to help these countries overcome their problems then – sooner or later – these problems will arrive at our door.

In assisting partners from the Caucasus and Central Asia, NATO parliamentarians should seek to intensify their contacts with their counterparts in these regions. This could be done through more frequent visits to these regions by the members of the respective dialogue groups, as well as through inviting parliamentarians from these countries to attend and observe national sessions, as well as the NATO PA and/or the European Parliament's deliberations, to acquire and develop a sense of how a parliament works.

Another way in which the dialogue groups could assist the Alliance's efforts is through interacting with the efforts of the NATO International Staff towards these regions. At the Istanbul Summit, the Heads of State and Government decided to assign a Special Representative, at the level of Deputy Assistant Secretary General, to travel to these regions frequently to ensure an effective follow-up of the implementation of NATO's Partnership tools, particularly IPAPs and IPPs. A tremendous benefit would be a liaison channel established between the NATO PA dialogue groups and the Special Representative, with a view to identifying the specific support the NATO PA could provide him.

Another area where the NATO PA may provide support is military reform, which is critical in transition. Defence reform is the *sine qua non* for deepening relations with NATO. Inefficient defence-spending and corruption put additional strains on already tight national budgets in both regions. An array of security forces makes it difficult for democratic representatives to exercise democratic oversight over the armed forces. The IPAPs do have important provisions for military reform, and the NATO PA could assist their counterparts in these areas of defence reform and democratic oversight of the military budget with advice on the implementation of IPAP tools.

There is also a need for western public opinion to be more informed about these regions. The NATO PA dialogue groups could assist efforts toward that end, explaining to the public in the West the importance of the stability of these regions for our common security.

These are a few fundamental issues where the NATO PA, working in parallel with NATO's own efforts, could assist the Caucasus and Central Asia. However, there are limits to what NATO and other western institutions, as well as the NATO PA, can do. Of course western support is crucial, but the future of the Caucasus and Central Asian states can only depend on the determination and political foresight of their own political leaders. It may not be easy to overcome the legacy and habits of the past, to trigger and sustain genuine domestic reforms, and to adjust to a rapidly changing international environment. But as the NATO Secretary General has recently said, all these steps will be well worth the effort if they help to unlock the enormous political and economic potential of Central Asia and the Caucasus. It is increasingly clear that long-term investment in building relationships, improving understanding and enhancing co-operation strengthens security and welfare for all.

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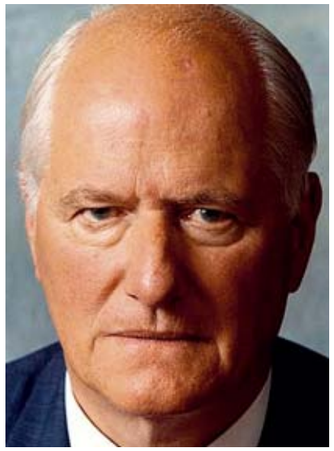
CHAPTER 13 The Evolution of the European Security and Defence Policy

Ceremony at Camp Butmir marking the end of NATO's SFOR Operation and the establishment of the EU Operation "ALTHEA", December 2004.



Wim van Eekelen
Former Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
Former Head of the Netherlands Delegation.

The double value of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly rests on the consensus building among parliamentarians on defence and security issues and its transatlantic context. It is not parliamentary control in the strict sense of the word, because in an intergovernmental organization like NATO that function is exercised by national parliaments. The value added is rather the acquisition of a joint perspective, which provides members with a common background to their participation in debates at home.

The transatlantic context is a crucial element, which is not provided by any other organization. It has become even more crucial since after the end of the Cold War collective defence against aggressive communism no longer binds vital interests together as closely as had been the case for forty years. In spite of the many shared values, perceptions on both sides of the Atlantic differ, and that applies both to the emerging new threats and challenges and to the way of coping with them. Governments fail to see eye to eye on an increasing number of issues and find it difficult to reach agreements in multilateral consultations. Crucial questions, like the future of Iraq, hardly figure on the agenda of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) and are discussed bilaterally in capitals. Under these circumstances the bridge-building role of the Assembly is precious, and its method of jointly working on reports and resolutions provides for better understanding and constructive dialogue, which goes beyond the simplifications of the media or the blurred language of diplomacy.

Ever since its inception, NATO has been preoccupied with burden-sharing. Washington tried to push the Europeans to make larger contributions to the common defence. The question "How much is enough?" remained unresolved. On their side, the Europeans were hesitant about a comprehensive arrangement with the United States, encompassing other issues than defence and security, for fear that the overwhelming military

contribution of the United States would distort relations in other fields. Nevertheless, this military factor usually resulted in a dampening of irritations in the economic and trade areas, although some debates, such as that on agricultural protectionism, could become fairly severe.

Relations changed when the European Community started its European Political Co-operation (EPC) in 1971, but the impact was limited, because the EPC limited its security discussions to the Conference, later the Organisation, for Security and Co-operation in Europe. There the focus was on principles for the conduct of states, and military matters were limited to confidence-building measures. Harder issues of force reductions between East and West were negotiated on an Alliance-basis in the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna.

The Treaty of Maastricht of 1991 transformed the EPC into a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as one of the three pillars of the European Union. At first, it still had little to do with hard security, which somewhat half-heartedly was left to the Western European Union (WEU). The WEU was described as being both the security dimension of the European Union and the European pillar of NATO, but neither function developed satisfactorily. The Treaty of Amsterdam transferred its functions to the European Union, which thereby acquired a military function, currently described as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The word "defence" should be interpreted as "military", for collective defence was left to NATO.

Opinions about the merits of the ESDP varied, even among the member states. Some were sceptical about European capabilities to mount significant military operations without recourse to NATO assets, i.e. for the most part US resources. NATO on its own possessed headquarters, communications, AWACS and some standing naval forces, but for the rest remained dependent on national contributions and the willingness of governments to make them available. For although the common defence arrangements existed for the transfer of command and control to the NATO commanders, these did not apply to non-Article 5 operations. In Washington, some described the ESDP as "Eurobabble", loose talk without any capacity or willingness to implement it in practice. On the European side, there was logic in merging the WEU with the European Union, as there was little sense in having separate foreign, security and defence policies. All should be part of a common foreign policy. There was, however, a presentational problem, because some saw stronger European capabilities as a means of strengthening the Alliance, while others feared a threat to the continuing cohesion of NATO. Obviously the same thing could not be both. This article will trace the debate in the Assembly during the past 15 years and the *modus vivendi* eventually reached.

The quality of the debate was high, as most members sat on the defence or foreign affairs committees at home. They were well aware of the positions of their governments and

often mirrored them. Sometimes national debates between government and opposition were repeated in the Assembly and occasionally new dividing lines appeared. At the beginning of the session the political groups met in an effort to reach a consensus as Christian Democrats, Socialists or Liberals. It was not always easy for a rapporteur to get his fellow-politicians behind the points he wanted to make.

The CFSP got off to a bad start with the Yugoslav crisis and as a result the Assembly membership was dismissive of European aspirations. Their focus was on bringing a reluctant United States back into European crisis management. The 1994 NATO Summit in Brussels was important in coining a new concept: Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF), which would be flexible, would be composed of elements from the three services, and would be able to move outside the perimeter of the NATO area and its geographically determined command structure. The CJTF would be important to NATO itself, but would also allow for European – in those days WEU-led – operations, if for some reason the Alliance as a whole did not want to become engaged. Such a situation might occur, if the United States regarded a crisis on the European continent primarily as a European responsibility and did not wish to commit ground forces. American opinion differed on the likelihood of this scenario: the history of US involvement showed that it would be interested in any crisis necessitating the use of military force. Others were keen on Europeans assuming larger responsibilities and felt that their own continent should be the first place to show that commitment.

Developments in Bosnia, and later in Kosovo, strengthened those who argued that crises could be solved only if the United States and the European Union worked in double harness. Only much later, when the ESDP had achieved organizational structure, did the European Union feel confident enough to take over the operations in Macedonia and subsequently in Bosnia, and the United States welcomed the opportunity to liberate forces for tasks in the Middle East. The concept of CJTF, however, was never formally applied, and when it was used in the field, like the "extraction force" shielding monitors in Kosovo prior to the escalation to the bombing campaign, it was not given that name.

Not surprisingly, the US military were not keen on losing control, but the impossibility of resorting to the CJTF concept was due to an institutional haggle over the way in which its resources would be made available. In June 1996 at Berlin the NAC agreed "a presumption of availability" and planning support, but a Turkish-Greek quarrel prevented its application. Turkey argued that it should be closely involved in the ESDP, because most foreseeable crises would develop in its area. The Washington Summit of April 1999 gave tentative support to a "Berlin Plus" compromise, but it would take effect only in December 2002 when the European Union agreed the fullest possible involvement of non-EU members of NATO with ESDP. The NATO Parliamentary Assembly actively promoted the establishment of "appropriate arrangement with the European Union to enable it [...] to

draw on NATO assets and capabilities for its Rapid Reaction Force whenever NATO as a whole chooses not to be engaged".[1]

The Assembly followed developments closely, both on the military side and on questions of co-ordination and reconstruction, and its committees regularly visited the Balkans and Turkey. The Civilian Affairs Committee devoted a lengthy report to "Stability in the Balkans: the role of European security institutions" in September 1997.[2] The report concluded that NATO had experienced a *de facto* qualitative development, which had made it more and more a political instrument for crisis management. However, NATO's involvement in crisis management was not clearly defined, leaving the military plenty of scope when it came to interpreting their mandate, sometimes restrictively, sometimes extensively. Civil-military co-operation (CIMIC) was working relatively well after long months of practice, but it would have been better adjusted if this co-operation had been thought out in advance. This led to the recommendation that civil-military crisis management, with its implications for types of forces, equipment and training, must be taken into account in the reform of NATO's military structures. The corresponding resolutions called for a comprehensive concept of civil-military co-operation to build up dedicated CIMIC forces and to enshrine them in the 1999 Strategic Concept. Equally, military police units should be integrated into Alliance planning, taking account of the experience of the WEU in the blockading of the Danube and the police contingent at Mostar. Politically important was the statement that the Allies would be ready to use force if diplomatic and economic measures remained insufficient to bring about a cease-fire in Kosovo.

The specific role of the Europeans was seen in democratization and economic development. There was to be no question of setting up a complete crisis management instrument outside the Alliance; the contractual assistance of the North Americans remained essential. It was more a question of "restoring a balance within the Alliance in both its functions and its decision-making procedures". The United States must retain its undisputed leadership in all hypotheses in which the collective security of its members may be in jeopardy. On the other hand, when it comes to preventing local tension or unrest from degenerating into armed conflict, Europeans must increasingly be the initiators of the appropriate response, which may or may not call for the use of coercive means involving police and/or military assets, and may or may not require North American assistance. They should take the initiative in bridging the "mandate gap" between military and police action. In this connection, regret was expressed about the rather modest results produced by the Amsterdam conference, which failed to provide for efficient decision-making procedures.

The Washington Summit also coined the phrase "separable but not separate", indicating that different command arrangements would be possible, but that in the end all units would belong to the same set of forces. The concept had some utility as a placebo against

1. Resolution on NATO structural reform and ESDP, following my report on 'The transatlantic defence relationship after 11 September 2001' of April 2002.

2. General Report by Arthur Paecht (France) and Wim van Eekelen (Netherlands), General Rapporteurs, with the assistance of Catherine Guicherd from the Secretariat.

misgivings about the Europeans going their own way, but had little operational significance. Moreover, the metaphor did not fully apply, because what would happen after the forces had been separated? In any case, it showed that Washington at that juncture was less concerned about European operations.

The debate was greatly facilitated by the summit meeting of December 1998 organized by France and the United Kingdom at St Malo, which introduced the scenario of autonomous EU operations without recourse to NATO assets. The US delegation to the Assembly made an issue out of NATO's "right of first refusal" before the European Union mounted an operation. Personally, I was not happy with this argument, because it would create an artificial and time-consuming sequence of events. Clearly, all members would be happy with US participation, which would make NATO with its well-oiled machinery the organization of choice. If the United States did not want to be engaged, either the CJTF mode or an autonomous EU operation could be considered, but it would not make sense to determine the outcome through a binary process of elimination. In an emerging crisis everybody and every organization would be consulting and it would appear fairly quickly which one would be most suitable and willing to act. Moreover, if NATO had to formally denounce involvement, diverging opinions would come out in the open and those willing to join would start the operation at a disadvantage. In the final analysis, all would depend on US participation, but decisions should leave intermediate options open. So far the European Union has mounted only one autonomous operation, which met with universal praise. In the summer of 2003 in Bunia in the Congo a force of some 1,500 men under French command acted quickly to fill the gap between the eruption of hostilities and the arrival of a more permanent UN contingent. At that time the United States had other preoccupations and was more than happy to leave this crisis to the European Union. Nobody talked of a right of first refusal.

European Capabilities

In 1999 in Washington NATO launched the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), but gave it insufficient focus. Too many requirements without prioritizing them left countries off the hook. Unwillingly, a new element of competition was introduced by the EU decision in December in Helsinki to develop Headline Goals of 50-60,000 men, available within 60 days, able to carry out the most difficult missions and sustain them for at least a year. The numbers were predicated upon the experience with IFOR/SFOR in Bosnia and KFOR in Kosovo. Reaction times, however, were too long for immediate crisis management and many shortfalls appeared in capabilities for operations in the higher ranges of violence. The US Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld grasped the need for early action by an "insertion force" with his proposal for a NATO Reaction Force (NRF) of some 20,000 men from the three services and deployable within two weeks or less. The army component would be relatively

small, one or two brigades, supplied by one or two countries to retain real fighting ability. His initiative was promoted as the last chance to keep the Pentagon interested in maintaining NATO. The European Union in turn recognized the need for early action and formed "battle groups" of some 1,500 men to be ready within 5-7 days. The first should be available in 2005, with the aim of rotating them so that every year two would be available.

No wonder parliamentarians were a bit perplexed and asked whether the two concepts were compatible. The easy answer was that a calendar of rotation could solve everything, as NATO at 26 and the European Union at 25 should have plenty of forces to fill the numbers and not everybody had to participate in everything. Nevertheless more work will have to be done, because deployability depends not only on military factors. How could political decision-making and dispatch of forces, which often require parliamentary approval, be speeded up? This will require much more detailed scenario planning with indications from member states under what circumstances they would be prepared to commit their forces.

The author visiting the Tactical Air Force Base in Minsk Mazowiecki, Poland, during the Annual Study visit, July 2001.

To resume on a positive note: both NRF and battle groups are made up entirely of European units, the NRF having the bonus of US force multipliers like strategic transport and satellite reconnaissance. In practice, therefore, the picture will not be so bleak and the difference will be made by the organization providing political guidance and leadership.

From Identity to Policy

In spite of all efforts, the European role within NATO remained puzzling. At first described as a "European identity", it was gradually overtaken by the European Security and Defence Policy. As I wrote in my report to the Defence and Security Committee of October 1999 on "EU, WEU and NATO: towards a European Security and Defence Identity" the word "identity" is not easily comprehensible. It suggests a measure of individuality and a degree of oneness and unity, an inseparable link, but only up to a point. Identity distinguishes you from others, but the question remains how much. The word had appeared in European texts as early as 1970. The Single European Act of 1986 talked of "the development of a European identity in external policy matters" and the WEU Platform of European Security Interests of 27 October 1987 aimed at developing "a more cohesive European defence identity". A few weeks later, the North Atlantic Council welcomed the affirmation of "a positive identity in the field of European security within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance" and called it "conducive to the strengthening of the transatlantic partnership" [3]. All this occurred before the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union.

3. Annex VI of the author's *"Debating European Security"* (CEPS Brussels 1998) lists the references to a European identity.

In December 1990 the North Atlantic Council added the metaphor of the WEU being the "European pillar of the Alliance", but the acronym ESDI would continue to be used and figured positively in the communiqué of the 1999 Washington Summit, which also recognized "the resolve of the European Union to have the capacity for autonomous action". The problem seemed to be manageable on the military side, but more difficult politically. How should CFSP positions be developed and introduced into NATO consultations? The United States had consistently rejected the formation of a European "caucus" within NATO, because it wanted to be part of the process from the beginning and not be confronted with a European *fait accompli*. Another, not fully consistent, argument was that the European Union took too long in defining a position. Whatever the merits, the upshot was two centres of decision-making, both in Brussels. The NAC and the EU Political and Security Committee meet regularly. These sessions might provide useful information to non-EU countries, but they present a peculiar picture with most countries being represented by two ambassadors. Their efficiency is questionable. When Bulgaria and Romania have signed their accession treaties with the European Union and Turkey is engaged in negotiations for entry, all European allies, except Iceland and Norway, participate closely in the ESDP. Then the focus should be more on closer contacts between the United States and the European Union, than on formalistic dialogue between the two organizations.

In conclusion, relations between NATO and the European Union are in calmer waters. The new members of both organizations have a clear interest in constructive transatlantic relations. EU capabilities are increasing, but some shortfalls will continue for some considerable time. The political framework and the capabilities for rapid action are there, if people want to use them. On the defence side, the American role in Europe will diminish, unless Russia starts bullying its western neighbours. Washington presses NATO to go global, but will not have any success unless it is prepared to consult the Allies before forming coalitions of the willing. Otherwise, the new Pentagon maxim "the mission determines the coalition" will only allow the Allies to sign up to US initiatives, which is no alternative for an Alliance. In the fight against terrorism, the spectrum of instruments available to the European Union will be an important asset, as long as all Allies recognize that the fight can only partly be carried on with military means. NATO parliamentarians have a continuous task in addressing effective co-operation, avoiding unnecessary duplication, and defining common interests worth protecting in an uncertain world.

* * *

Chapter 14 The Work of the Committees

Meeting of the Defence and Security Committee during the Spring Session in Prague, 2003

Alice Mahon
Former member of the United Kingdom Delegation. Former Chairperson of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security.

The Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security

Of the Assembly's five committees, the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security (CDS) has probably seen the most profound adjustment in its role and profile since its creation. In the Assembly's early years it was considered important to have a committee that would balance the natural Cold War preoccupation with politico-military issues, and focus on the values that underpinned the Alliance and the public opinion required to sustain it. Consequently the Assembly created a Cultural Committee [1] to examine the public image of NATO in member countries, the way it was taught in schools and generally supported in the media and society at large. It also took a close interest in the failings of the adversary, particularly in the field of human rights, and the development of the Helsinki CSCE process.

The enormous changes of 1989 produced a corresponding change in emphasis for the Committee. The development by NATO of partnership and co-operation with former adversaries leading, for several, to NATO membership, meant that issues related to good governance assumed equal importance as those related to the size and quality of armed forces. This aspect was quickly seen by Committee members as natural terrain for the Committee to work on. Accordingly its agenda began to include issues such as the development of democratic institutions, the rule of law, human rights and particularly the rights of minorities, all of which were seen as increasingly relevant to the new and greatly expanded concept of "security". Furthermore, as NATO was drawn into deploying forces in peace

1. See page 216.

support operations in the Balkans, the Committee also took on the task of assessing the legal, political and practical implications of such humanitarian operations.

Role and Achievements in the Early Days

From its inception, the Committee's focus was on promoting the Alliance's image and values in order to contribute to the moral, cultural and political unity of the Alliance's member nations. The goal was to develop and communicate the aims and objectives inherent in the concept of the "Atlantic ideal" of plurality and democratic freedom as opposed to the doctrinal uniformity of the adversary.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the Cold War was at its height, the development of an "Atlantic Cultural Community" was seen as an important means of strengthening Alliance solidarity. Consequently, the Committee sought to enhance cultural contacts among member nations and encourage member nations to ensure that public opinion was fully informed about the values and ideals underpinning the Atlantic Alliance.

The Committee naturally developed an interest in education projects and upon efforts to disseminate information about NATO and how to improve its public image, particularly among the successor generation. A key recurring theme on the Committee's agenda was public opinion and NATO's information policy. In addition, the Committee studied and

1. Originally created as the Cultural Committee, the Committee's title has changed several times over the last fifty years. In its early years, it evolved into the "Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information", a title it retained until 1985 when it became the "Civilian Affairs Committee". The current title – the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security – was adopted in 2000.

Visit to the Cegrene refugee camp, the FYR of Macedonia, July 1999.

made recommendations on subjects such as textbooks, teaching methods, educational qualifications, and student exchanges.

The Committee's focus on the values and ideals which unite the Alliance inevitably led the Committee to contrast these with those of NATO's Cold War adversary. In 1973, the Committee was specifically tasked by the Assembly with monitoring human rights in the countries of Eastern Europe. The Committee created a Sub-Committee on the Free Flow of Information which turned to issues such as the "underground" press and dissidents' movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Committee also closely followed the negotiations on the Helsinki Agreement, which concluded the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1975. Subsequently, the Committee closely monitored the implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Agreement and published a regular 'Bulletin' which catalogued developments affecting human rights in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Committee created a Sub-Committee on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to address the continuing development of the CSCE process.

Development of Relations with Countries from the Mediterranean Zone

In the late 1980s and early 1990s when much of the Assembly's attention was focussed on developments in Central and Eastern Europe, the Committee maintained its "avant-garde" tradition by beginning to reflect upon the relations between the Alliance and its Mediterranean neighbours. Thus, in 1991, the Sub-Committee, which had hitherto focussed upon public information issues, was superseded by the "Sub-Committee on the Mediterranean Basin". This Sub-Committee examined such crucial topics as terrorism, extremism and religious fundamentalism, and it helped to establish relations with representatives from Mediterranean countries. It was in large part due to the work of this Sub-Committee that the Assembly subsequently created its Mediterranean Special Group (GSM) which has gained tremendous importance over the years and is now considered effectively as the Assembly's sixth committee.

From the Disintegration of the Soviet Bloc to the New Millennium

The new attention paid to the Mediterranean region did not detract from the Committee's continuing interest in the crucial transition that was taking place in the eastern part of Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Committee addressed many aspects and implications of this transition in areas such as weapons proliferation, migration, democratization, and the environment. Its main focus, however, was on human rights and the development of civil institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Typical topics addressed included the treatment of minorities, and the prospects for

democratic reform in Central and Eastern Europe. The Committee also paid close attention to developments in the Balkans, including of course, its tragic conflicts and civil wars and the role of NATO members and partners in the various peacekeeping operations which followed.

In 1996, the Committee studied the role of the international community in reconstructing Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1997 it looked at the role of NATO and of European institutions in stabilizing the Balkans. This regional focus continued with studies of NATO enlargement in the Balkans (1997), military assistance to civil operations (1998), Kosovo and international humanitarian law (1999), and the civil society dimensions of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe (2000).

The Committee's interest in the Balkans automatically caused it to consider the European Union's burgeoning role in security and its relationship with NATO. This required careful co-ordination with the work of the Assembly's other committees, which were also closely following events in the Balkans, and the evolution of NATO-EU relations in the field of security. However, by maintaining its focus on its traditional concerns of human rights and the welfare of civilians, the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security avoided unnecessary duplication with work being done elsewhere within the Assembly.

With the Iron Curtain's disappearance and a re-unified Europe, different security concerns started to appear, and the role of all the Assembly's committees evolved. The committees offered unique opportunities for members and associate members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly to discuss new, common security challenges. No doubt as a result of its traditional non-military orientation, the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security offered a flexible and attractive forum for the discussion of "soft" security issues with counterparts from the post-Soviet area. The list of such issues which extend beyond the military sphere but which would fall squarely into any citizen's concerns about security includes ethnic conflict, organized crime, migration, the drugs trade, human trafficking, weapons proliferation, and terrorism.

A committee director in action. Former Director of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security, Catherine Guicherd during a visit to the UN Interim Force, Lebanon, May 2000.

Continuity and Change

The new millennium has seen terrorism emerge as a central challenge to security. Following the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001, all the Assembly's committees began to address the aspects of terrorism that fell within their areas of interest and expertise. For the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security, this has meant looking at the roles played by international organizations in dealing with terrorism, anti-terrorist legislation in member states, and the implications of anti-terrorist measures for civil liberties and human rights. In addition, the Committee has looked very closely at

measures being taken to protect civilians from terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction.

However, the Committee has certainly not neglected its traditional concerns, such as minority rights.

A good example of the Committee as a forum for addressing such concerns was the Committee's involvement in the issue of the Russian minorities in the Baltic states which was the source of considerable tension between Moscow and its Baltic neighbours.

In the spring session in Prague in 2003, the Committee heard and vigorously debated a report by Mrs. Lubov Sliska, Head of the Duma delegation to the Assembly, which criticised heavily the treatment of Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia. The Committee then authorized a visit by its Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance to Estonia and Latvia in order to make an independent assessment of the situation in these two countries. The members met a wide range of officials and representatives of civil society, including the Russian speaking part, focussing particularly on educational opportunities.

While the Committee agreed that in both countries problems remained to be solved, these were seen as a natural part of the very substantial adjustment both countries were undergoing as a result of the dramatic changes since 1989. The overall conclusion was that in both Estonia and Latvia, the protection of minority rights was well in keeping with European standards and that dialogue and co-operation should be pursued by all parties concerned.

This conclusion did not end the controversy but hopefully was a helpful contribution to putting the issue in its proper perspective.

Future Partners

As an increasing number of partner nations have joined the Alliance, the Assembly's attention has become more concentrated on partner nations in the South Caucasus and Central Asia. The Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security has undertaken to be in the vanguard of strengthening the Assembly's relations with these regions. The Committee has provided a venue for detailed discussions of security problems and perspectives in the South Caucasus with the active participation of associate members from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Exchanges of view have been held on the process of democratization, the state of the rule of law in the three republics and the further development prospects for the region. The Committee's work plan includes regular visits to the region, and as these three nations move closer to NATO and continue to develop or implement their Individual Partnership Action Plans, the Committee's work enhances the parliamentary dimension of those plans by encouraging exchanges of views on parliamentary oversight and the role of the parliaments in defence reform.

Recognizing that co-operation with the Caucasian parliaments is now more than ever strategically important, the Committee will continue working with the Assembly's South Caucasian partners. At the same time, it will maintain its position at the forefront of the Assembly's contacts with Central Asia. At its Venice session in November 2004, the Assembly granted the request by the parliament of Kazakhstan for the status of Parliamentary Observer. This relationship was further consolidated by the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security which visited Kazakhstan in March 2005.

The Committee remains at the heart of the Assembly's efforts to promote the values and ideals of the Atlantic Alliance, and it is at the forefront of the Assembly's relationships with its partner nations. Although the scope of its activities has evolved dramatically over the years, it has maintained its steadfast focus on the promotion of democratic principles, civil liberties and human rights. In doing so it has maintained its position as being one of the liveliest and most interesting of the Assembly's committees.

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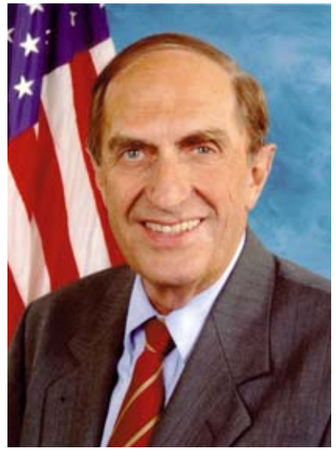

Joel Hefley
Head of the United States House of Representatives Delegation. Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee.

The Defence and Security Committee

The Defence and Security Committee has changed over the years, but in many ways it remains at the centre of what the NATO Parliamentary Assembly does best: provide a unique forum for legislators from across the transatlantic community to have a free exchange of ideas on the critical security issues of the day.

It is fair to say that having this forum is even more important now than it was during the Cold War. The threat of an open confrontation with the Soviet Union focussed our attention and limited the scope for debate. But now NATO is active in a variety of missions from peacekeeping to counter-terrorism, and the range of views on how it should approach those issues forces us to consider more options. Given the complexity of the current security environment, it is critical to have a forum such as the Defence and Security Committee.

New Issues

It is hard to appreciate how much the activity of the Committee has changed until you look back at the topics of our debates and reports in the 1980s and realize that they belong to a completely different era. In those years, we considered the control and potential use of nuclear weapons, debated the forward deployment of NATO forces in Europe and closely followed the conventional balance of power between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. Thankfully we no longer have to consider such issues, but at that time NATO was still devoted to its original purpose of deterring and, if need be, defending against an attack on Europe by the Soviet Union. We were focussed on the prospect of Soviet tanks rolling across the plains of Europe.

The purpose of the Alliance has transformed since then and now plays a broader stabilizing role in Europe and beyond. After much debate about NATO's out-of-area involvement, NATO shifted its focus to the Balkans and played a key role in quelling the violence there in the 1990s, taking its first military action ever in Kosovo in 1999. Our attention also turned to admitting new members from the former Warsaw Pact countries. Finally, NATO's focus shifted even further afield to Afghanistan and Iraq. The international security environment has changed dramatically over the past 15 years; what is encouraging is that NATO and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly have changed to meet the new challenges.

No one on this committee or elsewhere would have predicted in 1989 – the year the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan – that the focus of our general report in 2004 would be NATO operations in that same country. The idea that the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would be independent states, much less members of NATO, would have been incredible in the 1980s. Yet consideration of those new members and others was a large part of our agenda in 2003. It is a very different world today than in 1989, and a quick review of the report topics for this committee reveals just how much the world has changed.

Some issues, however, are remarkably consistent. The question of burden-sharing among the Allies and the gap in the capabilities between the United States and many countries in Europe is as relevant as – or more so than – it was twenty years ago. Then, as is now, interoperability was important. But today we are more concerned with transforming our military forces in a manner that allows them to work together in a variety of operations outside of Europe. The missions in which our forces are likely to be used have changed since the end of the Cold War, but the basic problems of interoperability and complementarity have only grown more complex as the Alliance takes in new members and takes on new missions.

The Committee has not shied away from controversial or divisive issues in recent years. Over the past few years we have drafted reports and resolutions on the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, the global fight against terrorism and development of military capabilities across the Alliance. The decision to intervene in Iraq was clearly one of the most controversial issues that NATO has confronted in its history and the Committee made it the focus of its 2003 report.

Despite the intensity of emotions over Iraq, the debate in this committee was frank and forthright, but always civil and respectful. That underlying civility enabled us to produce a factual report that members could use to inform debates in their home legislatures. We also produced a resolution in 2003 that was a model of transatlantic consensus-building, calling for the members of the Alliance to recognize our common interests in stabilizing Iraq and supporting a formal role for NATO in the reconstruction of that country. This rapprochement occurred in the Committee over the course of 2003 and can be seen as a first step toward the decision by the North Atlantic Council to authorize the NATO training mission in Iraq.

Afghanistan may have been a less divisive operation at the outset, but it rapidly became a central issue for the Committee as NATO took command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in 2003. We sent several representatives of the Committee to Kabul in 2004 and the report they made to the Committee convinced the Assembly of the need to boost our collective commitment in Afghanistan. That report led the president

of the Assembly to write to the Heads of State of each member country reminding them of the importance of the mission and the need to meet existing commitments. Our specific recommendations also went forward to the North Atlantic Council at the Istanbul Summit. The combination of those efforts had a direct impact on events in Afghanistan. I believe that the NAC committed to increase the size of the NATO force in Afghanistan in part because of the attention we generated on the issue.

Assembly members with President Hamid Karzai during a visit to Afghanistan, March 2005.

New Members

A key activity of this Committee has been to reach out to the candidate countries on the edges of the Alliance. It seems obvious now that NATO would expand to include the countries that became independent after the end of the Cold War, but there was a serious debate in the US Congress and other national legislatures about bringing those countries into the Alliance. What would it cost? Would expansion strengthen or weaken the Alliance? How would it affect our relationship with Russia? All of those issues were valid concerns, but the Assembly, and in particular the Defence and Security Committee, took the lead on this issue, visiting every candidate country before their accession to NATO. From Estonia to Bulgaria, the Committee met with the leaders and top military officers in each country. They asked the tough questions: what are you doing to make your military compatible with NATO? What do you have to offer the Alliance? And they went into the field to "kick the tyres" and see what the candidate countries could offer in terms of niche capabilities.

Most importantly, they came back to us with timely reports that showed the promise of each candidate country as well as the problems. This is a good illustration of what the Committee can do for its members: provide well-researched reports that can inform their discussions in the national legislatures. This is important because not all of us have professional research staffs in our national legislatures. In the US Congress, for example, we are fortunate to have professional researchers who can provide us with reports on nearly any topic. I know that this is an extraordinary situation and that many of our colleagues do not

have the same level of support. The reports of the Committee condense the available information and the on-the-ground experiences of our members to give us a fair and objective view of the situation, be it the progress of the candidate countries or operations in Afghanistan.

But there is also a more human dimension to this Committee and its activities. There really are not very many places where legislators from both sides of the Atlantic can get together, and the Parliamentary Assembly has an important social dimension. At the annual sessions, dinners and excursions, we all have a chance to get to know one another and our spouses. When you have spent time together and know one another by first names, it seems much easier to work out our differences.

The Committee visits are primarily fact-finding trips, but they also allow us to host one another among the people we represent. I had the privilege of hosting the Committee on its annual visit to the United States in 2001 when the Committee travelled to my home district in Colorado. Committee members had heard of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and the US Space Command, but to actually see those commands and understand their capabilities makes a difference. Other members of the Committee regularly host delegations in their capitals and home districts. This helps to build a web of informal connections and friendships that strengthens the transatlantic bond.

New Challenges

Where will the Committee go in the future? It will depend on the emerging security issues in the coming years, but the Committee will likely focus on the unresolved conflicts in the Balkans, the further expansion of NATO, the relationship between NATO and the European Union, and, of course, NATO's role in the international war against terrorism.

With the rise of global terrorism and events in Iraq dominating the headlines, it is all too easy to forget about the many unresolved issues in the Balkans. But we do so at our peril. With the drawdown of forces in Bosnia and the transfer of command of that mission to the European Union, the general public perception is that the region is stable and no longer a security concern. This is a mistake; there are many issues in the Balkans that could erupt into violence and we must be proactive rather than reactive if we are to set the region on to a path towards integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions. There is still no final status for Kosovo, and it remains a powder keg, as we saw in April 2004, when ethnic tensions there blew up into an orgy of violence. Only very rapid action by NATO forces quelled that situation, but this was a temporary solution.

The entire region can be seen as a security liability for NATO right in the heart of Europe. If we have learned anything over the past few years, it is that defence and security is no longer focussed solely, or even primarily, on conflict between states. We have to think

more broadly about terrorists and other shadowy groups that often feed into terrorist activity such as drug traffickers and organized crime. The Balkan region is home to far too many such groups and they threaten not just the stability of the region, but the security interests of the Euro-Atlantic community.

We will also have to consider the admission of new members from the Balkan region. Albania, Croatia and Macedonia are all applicants for NATO membership, and other countries in the area have made it clear that they would like to be considered for membership in the future. The Committee will spend time in each of those countries considering their progress on reforming their military and political systems in accordance with NATO standards.

In large part, the focus of the Committee will likely be on the evolving NATO-EU relationship. No one on either side of the Atlantic can fail to notice the development of the European Union as a force in the international environment. It has been an important player in economic issues for years, but now we see the emergence of a European Union increasingly desirous of playing a larger role in security affairs. This is a positive development if it leads to a Europe that is more capable of mounting the sort of out-of-area missions that characterize the current environment.

Members of the Defence and Security Committee visiting Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri, January 2005.

There are those who doubt the enduring relevance of the transatlantic alliance, and those who claim that the development of an EU defence policy will lead to competition rather than co-operation. I believe that most of this Committee would strongly disagree. There is a natural complementary aspect to the types of forces that we bring to the Alliance. The United States has forces ready for rapid deployment and a range of combat operations. Many European states have well-developed special forces, niche capabilities and deployable militarised police forces. This last force is something that the United States simply does not have, but militarised police can play a vital role in today's conflicts and post-conflict stabilization. By focussing on what we need to do to enable those forces to work together, we can maximize our collective strength and the importance of the NATO Alliance in the coming years.

The Alliance has outlived the threat that gave it its original purpose precisely because it is ultimately founded on something deeper and more enduring: basic shared values and common interests. We all benefit from stability and we increasingly recognize that the way to ensure stability is to encourage the development in other countries of the democratic institutions that underpin all of our governmental systems. The security challenges have changed dramatically over the past 15 years, but they have only increased the relevance of this Alliance.

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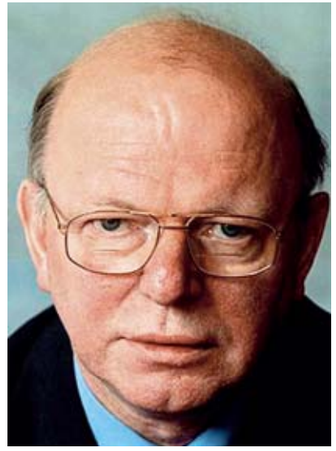


Jos van Gennip
Head of the Netherlands Delegation. Former Chairman of the Economics and Security Committee.

The Economics and Security Committee

Article 2 and the Economic Dimension of Transatlantic Relations

Parliamentarians are in the business of aggregating interests. They shoulder a breadth of responsibilities that help them to make linkages that most international civil servants cannot because of the natural constraints that define their professions. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has not only sought to inject transparency into the inner workings of NATO, it has also reinforced the broader political relationship beyond NATO's narrowly defined competences. It does so by taking a broad range of issues that link Europe and America in a common political, economic and strategic space. When the Assembly's committee structure was formed in 1956, members agreed to include both an Economic and a Cultural Committee along with the Political and Military Committees, not because NATO was engaged in economic and cultural activities as such, but because economics and culture are constituent elements of NATO's *raison d'être*.

Of course, NATO is essentially a political alliance endowed with military capabilities, and not the reverse. At the core of the Alliance, its relationships are just as much about the democratic values and liberal structures that the Alliance defends as they are about the methods in which those ideals are secured. This is made perfectly clear in Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Alliance's founding charter signed in Washington on 4 April 1949. That section, known as the Canadian Article because of the battle Canadian officials had waged to include it in the Treaty, reads as follows: "The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will **encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them**."

In these early years of the Cold War, some viewed Article 2 as mere window dressing; a palliative for those unwilling or unable to contemplate the harsh reality of military rivalry in Europe's heartland. Dean Acheson, President Truman's Secretary of State wrote, "[t]he plain fact is, of course, that NATO is a military alliance. Its purpose was and is to deter and, if

necessary, to meet the use of Russian military power or the fear of its use in Europe. This purpose is pretty old-fashioned. Perhaps to avoid this stigma, Canadian draftsmen had Article 2 inserted in the Treaty."

Dean Acheson, however, missed the point. First of all, an Alliance is already debilitated if it has not properly articulated what exactly it seeks to protect. In this sense, the Canadian Article was a far-sighted innovation. It linked the security imperative to the shared cultural, economic, and philosophical assumptions that underpin Atlantic comity. Dean Acheson could hardly have foreseen that these values would be a critical foundation for NATO's new functions in the post-Cold War era.

Indeed, Article 2's significance blossomed as Europe's Cold War divisions receded after 1989. While collective defence, enshrined in Article 5 of the Charter, has remained NATO's core mission, building stability in Europe after 1989 came to signify restoring the conditions that would ensure a vibrant democratic life and by extension economic prosperity to the countries in transition. NATO became one of several essential institutions reinforcing strategic stability in what was an entirely new strategic and diplomatic context.

From its inception, the Assembly's Economics and Security Committee has dealt with issues that, while not predominantly the responsibility of NATO itself, have nonetheless been of central importance to the transatlantic relationship writ large. Insofar as NATO has taken on economic functions, these have largely related to efforts to deepen co-operation in defence industries, discuss defence budgeting matters, and in the post-Cold War period, to work with partner countries on a range of these issues. In contrast, the NATO PA's interests have long encompassed these as well as broader political and macro-and micro-economic challenges.

The Early Years

The Committee's work in the late 1950s and early 1960s was largely focussed on European reconstruction and the creation of an open trading system among the Allies. At the time, the United States, Canada and Western Europe were dismantling tariff barriers – an undertaking fraught with political risk and the potential to precipitate short-term economic dislocation. Yet building a liberal trade order was seen as so vital to long-term prosperity and transatlantic comity, that statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic were prepared to assume short-term risks for long-term economic and strategic gains.

The Assembly's Economic Committee[1] consistently endorsed efforts to construct this liberal order. The emerging multilateral liberal trading system represented an unambiguous repudiation of the protectionism that in the 1930s had helped set the stage for world war. The Alliance would never have endured if the reigning economic philosophy of the day had entailed a "beggar my neighbour" approach to trade. European and American governments had clearly drawn the proper lessons from the ill-conceived economic policies of the inter-

1. The Economics and Security Commitee today.

war period. Dusty old reports in the Assembly's archives chronicle the political passion of those committed to building this liberal trading order. But they also reflect the myriad hesitations that such policies invariably trigger in democratic politics, where free trade winners and losers both have a voice. Guided by a liberal vision and cautioned by the experience of the 1930s, the members strongly supported the emerging GATT process and other efforts to eliminate administrative controls on international commerce.

In these early years, there were some questions provoked by the fact that the Assembly was dealing with international economic issues in the broadest sense while NATO's competencies in these areas were far more restricted. Several times in the late 1950s committee members called for NATO to put Article 2 fully into practice and engage in international economic policy making. Allied governments felt this unwise, ultimately prevailing in their view that other fora like the OECD were better placed to accommodate the economic spirit of Article 2.

From the very beginning, Assembly members also demonstrated a strong interest in the economic development of what was then called the Third World. Already at the first plenary meeting of the Assembly in 1955, members discussed economic relations with Africa, although in this early case, several members were defending their colonial prerogatives in the region. The following year the parliamentarians voted on a resolution endorsing greater aid outlays because freedom and peace would never flourish in a world where the greater part of humanity lived in "conditions of poverty, ill health and ignorance". Latin America also attracted the attention of the members, particularly after the initiation of President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, which involved new aid initiatives to that region.

Of course, the East-West strategic rivalry was hardly restricted to the European continent. The Cold War was global in reach, and in regions of the so-called "periphery" – South East Asia, Korea, Africa and Latin America, the Cold War could quickly evolve into military conflict. The shadow of East-West tension certainly informed western approaches to development matters. Over the years, the Assembly's Economic Committee reported on issues such as trade with the developing world, development and assistance strategies, and the security-development nexus. In a 1964 report, for example, Senator Jacob Javits of New York looked at programmes designed to encourage the flow of finance to the developing world, while Theodore E. Westerterp of the Netherlands dedicated an entire report to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Thus, from its inception, NATO parliamentarians were forging a development-security link in their deliberations. It was a theme that the members would return to with renewed passion after the 11 September attacks on New York and Washington.

Naturally, the strategic rivalry with the Soviet Union also loomed large in the Committee's deliberations. Senator Javits authored another report in 1960 exploring

western economic policies toward the Soviet block which included an analysis of the economies of COMECON, western export control policies, and the unique problems of trading with a non-market system that had set itself up as a rival to the western liberal order. These too were themes to which the Committee would constantly return over the next three decades.

The strategic problems of energy and commodity supplies were also of concern in this period. The German Rapporteur, Professor Fritz Burgbacher, a noted energy specialist, authored several reports detailing the expansion of western energy requirements, the potential for supply emergencies, and strategies for reducing vulnerabilities stemming from over-dependence on Soviet oil and gas. Energy matters would dominate committee deliberations after the first oil shock of 1973. Several reports followed, chronicling the dizzying price rises and their financial and geo-strategic implications. Members judged the matter so important that they along with the Scientific and Military Committees formed a Joint Sub-Committee on Energy Supplies in October 1973.

As western economies began to integrate after the Second World War, there was an apparent need for parliamentarians to share national experiences. The record suggests that NATO parliamentarians were doing just that. The Economic Committee conducted an array of special country studies, which sketched out economic conditions in member countries, thus facilitating this vital exchange of experiences. Several reports highlighted specific problems such as the supply of arable land in Greece, the state of fisheries in Iceland and tourism in the Aegean. Indeed, Mediterranean development issues were a particular concern, and in 1964 the members formed a Special Committee on Developing NATO Countries to explore this particular set of challenges.

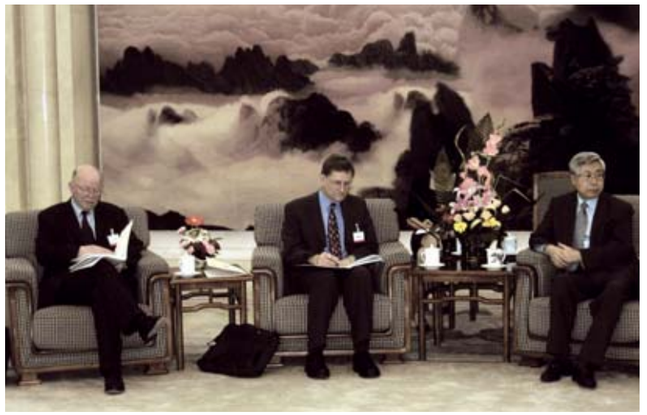
Burden-Sharing and the Rise of Transatlantic Economic Tensions

In its early years, the Committee did very little work on defence spending, defence industries, and defence trade. Only in 1966 does the term "Burden-sharing" crop up in a report title. But of course, it is only by the mid-1960s that one could reasonably assert that Europe had largely recovered from the ravages of war. A prostrate Europe had not been expected to match American defence outlays; had Europe tried to do so, it could well have precipitated domestic economic and political crises. But as Europe revived, the matter became more politically topical, particularly among American leaders alarmed by monetary and fiscal imbalances that had begun to afflict their own economy.

By the mid 1960s the Americans were undeniably feeling the heat of European competitiveness. At the same time, rising US inflation was steadily weakening the Bretton Woods gold-dollar parity system. The simultaneous pursuit of an ever more costly war in Vietnam and expensive social welfare programmes were rendering the fixed exchange rate system

increasingly untenable. European politicians had begun to chafe within a system that effectively compelled them to import US inflation and indirectly finance the Vietnam War. Transatlantic economic tensions were burgeoning as a result.

Two American Senators, Birch Bayh and Charles Percy, first raised the burden-sharing debate within the Committee. Charles Percy was particularly concerned that American defence expenditures were contributing to American balance of payments difficulties. He wanted financial offsets from the Allies to compensate for large dollar outlays, and threatened to work to withhold US funding of NATO without a degree of European compensation. This then was a harbinger of Senator Mansfield's call in the halls of the US Senate to bring home US troops stationed in Germany if Europe did not increase defence spending. The Nixon Administration ultimately headed off any troop cuts, and Germany eventually agreed to pay a higher share of the costs of maintaining US forces on its soil. The powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wayne Hays, a long-time member of the then NAA, ultimately opposed Mansfield's effort and told the Assembly's plenary meeting in 1970 that Americans were based in Europe for American national interests; withdrawal, he added, would make no strategic sense despite the potential financial savings. These exchanges were only the opening salvo in what would be a long burden-sharing debate in Alliance circles. In view of the "power of the purse" enjoyed by national legislatures, especially the US Congress, the Assembly provided a unique forum for transatlantic debates on this issue.



Charting a new path. The visit of the Economics and Security Committee to China, July 2005.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Committee was also chronicling the economic woes besetting western economies. The precipitous rise in inflation and unemployment following the energy crisis had sparked a crisis in confidence that would ultimately trigger a revolt against Keynesian macro-economic orthodoxy in the 1980s, first in Britain and then the United States. The reports in this period caught the flavour of these debates and provided a signpost of what would be a virtual revolution in macro-economic policy-making over the coming decade.

The reports also attest to the chronicle of increased transatlantic trade and monetary frictions in these years. In 1987, for example, the Committee Rapporteur Maarten

Engwirda from the Netherlands explored the implications of US trade and budget deficits for the European economy as well as mounting transatlantic trade disputes that grew out of these imbalances. Members had earlier created a Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Trade Relations to deal with these kinds of concerns; several reports warned that outstanding trade frictions had long-term security implications for the Alliance. With the strong support of US Congressmen John Tanner and Doug Bereuter, myself and many of our colleagues, that sub-committee would be revived in 2001 to provide a forum for European and North American legislators to discuss trade matters in open and frank terms. As US Congressman Doug Bereuter told the Standing Committee, there was a real concern that without an overarching Soviet threat, countries that had long managed to prevent trade disputes from adversely affecting broad political relations were losing that capacity as the great NATO-Warsaw Pact rivalry waned. The newly revived Sub-Committee has dealt with a range of trade matters including the state of World Trade Organisation talks, outsourcing and transatlantic disputes over trade subsidies, agriculture and steel. This year it will examine the commercial and economic challenges and opportunities posed by a rapidly growing Chinese economy.

The Committee after the Cold War

The end of the Cold War significantly altered the Committee's agenda. In 1989 Maarten Engwirda explored the crisis of the Soviet economic system and the reforms that President Gorbachev was attempting to implement. The Committee resolution that year endorsed the process of change and reform that was sweeping through Eastern Europe. The following year the Committee undertook a study of German unification and its economic as well as its political implications.

The issue of economic transition, in fact, had become so compelling that in 1990 the Committee fashioned a Sub-Committee on East-West Economic Co-operation and Convergence while provisionally retiring the Transatlantic Trade Sub-Committee. The work of the Co-operation and Convergence Sub-Committee over the last decade helped revivify the Committee by engaging NATO parliamentarians in a new and exciting field of economics. Indeed, the Sub-Committee began its deliberations at a time when there was virtually no economic theory on how economies might transition from totalitarian centrally controlled political economies to liberal and democratically governed systems. In the 1980s the American conservative Jeanne Kirkpatrick had even posited that such transitions were all but impossible. Events would prove her wrong.

After the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the newly liberated countries of Central and Eastern Europe were literally feeling their way through the process. For the first time, the Sub-Committee began to travel extensively throughout Central and Eastern Europe, meeting government officials, local and western entrepreneurs, and representatives of the international lending community. Those pioneering visits informed numerous reports dealing with a range of transition issues that were structured both functionally and regionally. The Committee accordingly dealt with the conversion of military industries to civilian production; comparative privatization strategies; US and EU aid to the region; decentralization; corruption; monetary and financial reform; and, most recently, the link between environment and transition. It also carried out a number of country studies including papers on Latvia, Romania, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Russia's difficult transition has also been examined at several points including after the financial crisis of the late 1990s and in the wake of its recent economic boom.

The British MP Harry Cohen authored a special report on the costs of NATO enlargement just prior to the first eastern enlargement. The report, issued at a time when national parliaments across the Alliance would be asked to ratify the enlargement, correctly dismissed warnings that the new accession would pose an enormous financial burden on existing NATO members as well as on the new members themselves.

If in 1989, the economics of liberal market transition had been something of a policy-making *terra incognit*a, over the course of the ensuing decade, government leaders, economists and the general public began to draw important lessons from the experience. Certainly, the European Union's dynamic role had reinforced the will of those politically accountable for the tough measures that had to be undertaken, and gradually the fruits of their efforts became apparent. The role of parliamentary diplomacy in all of this should not be discounted. Western parliamentarians worked hard to share their experiences with their eastern counterparts, and this intensive and sustained dialogue, in turn, became a vital means of reinforcing the message. Central Europe and portions of Eastern Europe, after having suffered near economic collapse, suddenly found themselves in the midst of rapid and mutually reinforcing economic expansion. Of course, members of the Committee also explored the difficult challenges of transition: the job losses associated with privatization, the crisis of heavy industry pension crises, persistent poverty in some regions and a range of political setbacks that did slow transition in several cases. Nevertheless, with great overall progress registered in Central Europe, the Sub-Committee increasingly turned its gaze to South East Europe, the Caucasus and even as far afield as Central Asia where transition has proven far more challenging for an array of reasons.

Indeed, the Committee's work on South East Europe and the Caucasus has sparked an interest in matters pertaining to conflict and economic development. In itself, successful market reform is a highly challenging task for newly democratic states. But when conflict and war become part of the mix, the transition process generally grinds to a halt. Committee members felt that the problems in conflict-ridden societies were so severe and posed so many

unique problems as to justify several reports exploring how extreme poverty, underdevelopment and political alienation associated with poverty pose a genuine security challenge to the West. These reports have helped define a new area of enquiry for the parliamentarians.

Transition, enlargement and the role parliamentarians played in these processes have also sparked an unprecedented degree of collaboration between the NATO PA and the NATO secretariat. Over the last decade, Economic Committee members have participated in a range of NATO Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) meetings in Central and Eastern Europe designed to support the transition process. These meetings have brought together NATO staff, senior government officials, experts and parliamentarians to reflect on issues such as democratic control of defence budgeting, military reform, and terrorist finance. Assembly parliamentarians have brought their unique insights to the table and infused these meetings with political perspectives they might otherwise have lacked. These meetings are yet another expression of the more articulated relationship the NATO PA is enjoying with the NATO secretariat.

The Committee after 11 September 2001

The events of 11 September 2001 have also strongly conditioned the recent work of the Committee. Immediately after those attacks, the Committee's Rapporteur, Paul Helminger, from Luxembourg, presented a report that looked at the economic consequences of those attacks. He also explored both the vulnerabilities of western economic infrastructure to terrorist attack and the financial dimension of the fight against terrorism.

The attacks and subsequent conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq have also raised important questions about the future of NATO, once seen as a regional alliance but increasingly asked to cope with security challenges farther afield. NATO forces are currently deployed in Afghanistan, the Alliance is providing support to the coalition operating in Iraq while a role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process is certainly within the realms of imagination. In all these cases, security will clearly be linked to reconstruction efforts. As a result, in 2004 the Committee explored post-conflict reconstruction as a critical issue for the transatlantic community, and it looked at the unique challenges and risks involved in rebuilding a functioning economy, political life and civil society in both Iraq and Afghanistan. This represented an extension of the Committee's renewed interest in development matters, poverty issues and their real security consequences – a relationship captured in the Committee's 2003 Resolution which began by asserting both that "military means alone cannot achieve security and that western governments possess a wide range of political and economic instruments to shape the international system."

This view also infused the Committee's work on trade matters and inspired one report to look at the links between development and the ongoing Doha Round of multilateral

trade talks. The Committee has also begun to forge links with the World Bank and particularly the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank in which several leading Assembly members are also very active. This focus on trade has also inspired a dialogue between the Committee and the European institutions. Both Sir Leon Brittan and Pascal Lamy have met the Committee in their capacity as successive EU Trade Commissioners, and the European Parliament has sent a delegation to participate in a number of Committee deliberations. All of this fostered a real transatlantic political dialogue on trade, even at moments when this relationship has been particularly tense.

Meeting at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Beijing, July 2005.

The Sub-Committee on East West Economic Co-operation and Convergence and the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations are also setting their sights on more distant horizons. After a decade of working on transition matters in Central and Eastern Europe, the Sub-Committee on East West Economic Co-operation and Convergence is currently seeking to learn what lessons from that experience might be applicable to North Africa and the Middle East, where many argue both an economic and political transition is essential to the region's long-term stability. The Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations is also looking farther afield. It has become evident to members that China's economic emergence has a range of implications for transatlantic commercial and monetary relations. As a result of this, and because China itself is assuming an ever more prominent strategic profile, the Committee has decided to explore the implications of China's economic rise. As part of this process, members visited Beijing and Shanghai in the summer of 2005. This is a new step for the Assembly, and once again it is helping chart a new path in an Alliance context. This is precisely the kind of contribution an international parliamentary assembly can make to the global political dialogue and general security.

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Co-operation with the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB)

Bert Koenders
Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
Deputy Head of the Netherlands Delegation.
Chairman of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank.

Members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank regularly meet to exchange views about security and development issues with the Bank.

The World Bank and NATO both emerged from the post-World War II global order. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (or IBRD, the World Bank's formal name), along with the International Monetary Fund, was created in 1944 by 45 countries in Bretton Woods, a small town in New Hampshire, United States. Its first task was to help Europe recover from the devastation wrought by World War II. The 'Bretton Woods institutions' aimed to keep the peace by promoting economic development (the Bank) and monetary co-operation (the Fund) in a world where, according to many, global economic instability had driven states into war.

Today, the World Bank manages development projects worth US$95 billion, making it the world's single largest external financier of programmes to reduce poverty in developing countries. Owned and governed by 184 countries, the organization is also an important source of knowledge and advice on how to tackle global issues such as international trade, HIV/AIDS, corruption, and climate change.

The World Bank's original mandate of post-conflict reconstruction regained prominence in the late 1990s, with the Bank becoming involved in war-torn areas such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, West Bank/Gaza, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Iraq. The Bank has reminded the international community about the linkages between economic opportunity and human security, and believes that increasing social and economic stability can foster the prevention of armed conflict.

At the same time, the World Bank's relations with parliamentarians have expanded in step with global changes, notably the growth of democracy and civil society. The organization's primary parliamentary interlocutor is the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB), an independent association of some 800 members of parliament from 110 countries. Established in 2000 and governed by a nine-member board of parliamentarians, PNoWB mobilizes parliamentarians in the fight against global poverty, promotes transparency and accountability in international development, and offers a platform for policy dialogue between the Bank and parliamentarians.

PNoWB seeks to be an action-oriented network of parliamentarians. Its flagship event, the PNoWB Annual Conference, has brought parliamentarians together with the leaders of the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO, and with Heads of state such as Brazilian President Lula da Silva and Senegalese President Wade. PNoWB engages the Bank's country offices through local or regional chapters, with active groups to date in India, Japan, East Africa, the Middle East and North Africa. PNoWB also organizes parliamentary field visits to developing countries to review the Poverty Reduction Strategy process, consulting with a range of stakeholders, from Bank staff to civil society representatives to ministers and Heads of state. PNoWB has a working group on HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria to promote legislation to stem the epidemics, and another group on international trade to advance a pro-poor outcome of ongoing WTO negotiations.

The World Bank has relations with several other parliamentary organizations, networks and assemblies, chief among them the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. In recent years, World Bank experts and reports have made important contributions to reports by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Economics and Security Committee, including Senator Jos van Gennip's two recent reports: "Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development: The Challenge in Iraq and Afghanistan", adopted in 2004; and "Economic Development through the Lens of Security", adopted in 2003. NATO PA delegations have visited the World Bank's headquarters in 2002 and 2004 for discussions on pressing development issues with senior bank staff.

In addition, the NATO PA, PNoWB and the World Bank have formed tripartite working relationships. NATO PA members and staff were key in launching PNoWB's Committee on International Trade for Development in April 2004. The NATO PA has also participated in several events co-organized by PNoWB and the World Bank, exchanging views with bank staff and fellow members of parliament. The fact that several parliamentarians are members of both the NATO PA and PNoWB helps strengthen ties. For example, the chair of the NATO PA Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations, Hugh Bayley (MP, United Kingdom), also serves as chair of PNoWB's trade committee, and I have both chaired PNoWB and served as a NATO PA Vice-President.

Looking ahead, the NATO PA, PNoWB and the World Bank will continue to develop joint activities. Awareness of the links between development, peace and security is growing. To build a more stable and equitable world order, it is crucial that parliamentarians and officials from international organizations such as the World Bank have the opportunity to exchange views and experiences, and to work together.

PNoWB's website: http://www.pnowb.org/
The World Bank's website for parliamentarians: http://www.worldbank.org/parliamentarians/

The Enduring Relationship with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Hugh Bayley
Member of the United Kingdom Delegation.

From its inception the Economic Committee of the Assembly has taken a strong interest in a range of economic matters, which, while elemental to transatlantic relations, did not necessarily fall under the competence of NATO itself. This inspired NATO parliamentarians to look beyond NATO in order to conduct a dialogue on critical economic matters. For this simple reason, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has enjoyed a long and mutually beneficial relationship with the OECD.

In 1960 members of the North Atlantic Assembly already expressed their strong support for the rapid ratification of the OECD's founding treaty. The new organization would subsequently replace the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), established in the immediate post-war period to co-ordinate Marshall Plan reconstruction initiatives. The OEEC itself had been a testament to the close relationship between economic and security issues, a link that the Committee itself had always embodied. The OECD quickly established itself as the primary vehicle for advancing economic policy co-ordination among developed democracies.

In 1964 the Assembly's Economic Committee called for the "attendance of parliamentarians as observers at the work of the Economic Committee of the OECD". It subsequently began a highly fruitful annual consultation with the OECD that continues to this day. The consultation has become one of several fora in which the OECD secretariat is able to deepen its dialogue with parliamentarians. The OECD also hosts an annual meeting with the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly and invites members of both Assemblies to participate in the annual OECD Forum as well as occasional high-level parliamentary meetings on specific issues on the OECD agenda such as development aid, education, and governance.

The meetings have allowed members to learn about the cutting edge economic research conducted at the OECD and its myriad efforts to co-ordinate policy and generate new efficiencies among developed democracies – initiatives that ultimately demand parliamentary support and input if they are to be put into practice.

The annual meeting of the Committee – now entitled the Economics and Security Committee – at the OECD typically begins with an overview of the world economy based on sophisticated econometric models developed at OECD. The remainder of the day is structured around issues on which the Committee itself is working. Indeed, these consultations generally occur just as the Committee's rapporteurs, working with the Committee director, set the research agenda for that year's Committee reports. The OECD discussion provides an enormously helpful brief on current thinking about specific economic challenges, as well as the approaches OECD governments are taking or hope to take to deal with these challenges. The meeting thus directly informs the work of the Committee. It is a testimony to the breadth of the OECD's working agenda that it is able to provide expertise every year on the many topics that the Assembly's Economics and Security Committee is addressing in that year.

The visit also provides opportunities for Canadian and American legislators to participate in the Committee's activities in Europe – something that is not always possible because of the distance involved. The Americans bring impressive parliamentary delegations to this annual meeting, and their presence transforms discussion into an important transatlantic political dialogue on tough issues like trade, regulation, policy coherence, aid, terrorist financing, the rise of China, development in the Middle East and investment rules to name a few of the recently discussed topics. In recent years, a number of non-NATO and non-European parliamentarians have sat in on these discussions, giving them an increasingly global character – again, a development that fits well with the Committee's shifting focus.

The Political Committee

Markus Meckel
Chairman of the Political Committee. Head of the German Delegation. Former Vice-President of the NATO PA.

Many of the contributions to this book look back on the work of the Assembly and its Political Committee. This article adopts a different – a forward-looking – approach. What are the issues which NATO will have to confront in the future? We must bear in mind that these theoretical and practical challenges will also affect the work of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Political Committee.

Global Challenges and the West's Common Agenda

During the Cold War, the threats to security – namely conventional warfare in Europe and the prospect of nuclear destruction – were clearly defined. The countermeasures – military deterrence, political dialogue and arms control to curb the rivalry between the two blocs – developed over the course of several decades.

When the military stand-off between the two blocs came to an end, the threats became more diverse and diffuse. The disintegration of government authority on Europe's periphery and across wide regions of the Developing World has been accompanied by military conflicts, migration flows and the spread of transnational organized crime. In addition, we were confronted with a new generation of international terrorists in the 1990s. And lastly, there has been a significant increase in WMD proliferation, which means that many more states – and, indeed, non-state actors – are capable of posing an existential threat to us today.

These trends are an outcome of globalization – the massive increase in transnational communication, long-distance travel and trade flows. But they also reflect conflicting development processes around the world: growing prosperity and opportunity for improvements in living standards at one end of the scale, and war and hunger at the other. These threats have one common feature: they cannot be mastered by any country that adopts a "go-it-alone" approach. Absolute protection can never be guaranteed, but international co-operation offers the best prospect of curbing the threats.

NATO: A Forum for Strategic Debate and the Basis for Joint Action

NATO has been pronounced dead many times and yet still it lives on. As an institution, it will undoubtedly survive the latest round of apocalyptic prophecies as well. But how important a role will NATO play in transatlantic relations and, more generally, in the international political arena in the future? This is an open question. The test of the Alliance's

strength is whether it is capable of taking joint action to resolve international conflicts and other security challenges. The first prerequisite for this process is a shared political will; the second is to maintain joint or complementary capabilities. NATO is at a crossroads and a choice must be made between two fundamentally different development routes. The first option is to view NATO as a binding partnership between Europe and North America, based on joint decision-making. The second is to treat NATO as a loose forum for consultations from which *ad hoc* coalitions can be forged under US leadership.

Since the end of the Cold War, the geostrategic position and hence the conditions for joint action have changed. Europe is no longer "Conflict Region No 1". We Europeans still cannot envisage security policy without the United States, one reason being that our capacities are obviously inadequate to deal with global challenges. We therefore have a keen interest in an Alliance that adopts binding decisions and engages in joint action. That is why the European Union has clearly signalled its willingness to work with NATO in a division of labour. As long as NATO provides the framework for joint decision-making, it will remain a key security policy actor in future too.

Visit of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations to Washington DC, May 2000.

For the United States, on the other hand, the conflict regions outside Europe – the Middle East, Asia and, perhaps increasingly, Africa – are the main priority. Given its overwhelming military, political and economic capabilities, involving its allies is just one of many options open to the United States, and may restrict its freedom of action as it strives to fulfil its own agenda. So from the US perspective, adopting a "go-it-alone" approach to problem-solving is a tempting prospect.

Does the United States have an equally strong interest in co-operating with its European partners? How does it envisage transatlantic burden-sharing? These are open questions. My impression is that there is a stronger temptation for the United States to regard NATO primarily as a group of major partners with whom it is engaged in an intensive but ultimately non-binding dialogue. From the US perspective, NATO can also be used as a "tool box" from which *ad hoc* coalitions can be formed in order to resolve specific problems or launch military operations. In this scenario, the partners are responsible for

providing military back-up and operational bases. But the overall policy direction is set in Washington, not Brussels.

What we need is for NATO to engage in an open-ended debate about the benefits and shortcomings of these two – naturally somewhat stylised – models. We need this debate in order to clarify which direction we want to take. Despite all our differences, we have common interests: to defend ourselves against terrorism, to ward off the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction, to stabilize crisis regions, and to support democracy-building and the development of market economies.

To safeguard the Alliance's long-term capacity to act, a joint situation analysis and an open-ended discourse about policy options are essential. Real partners do not want to be presented with a *fait accompli*; they want to play an active role in the decision-making process. But this type of open-ended debate about strategic issues is not taking place in the North Atlantic Council (NAC) at present.

In this context, the row that erupted in advance of the Iraq war, when the United States abandoned joint decision-making and focussed on toppling Saddam Hussein's regime single-handedly through military action, was very telling. It is still a mystery to me why the action against Iraq did not feature on the NAC's agenda until January 2003 – and even then it was filtered through a discussion of measures to protect Turkey from possible reprisals by Iraq.

By contrast, this type of controversial exchange has long been a feature of political debate in the NATO PA. In February 2003, for example, at a meeting of NATO parliamentarians in Brussels, an intensive debate took place about military action against Iraq. Many members of the NATO PA questioned whether there was a genuine threat from weapons of mass destruction, and highlighted the very different approach being adopted towards North Korea – a regime with at least equally massive or even more threatening arsenals which is just as contemptuous of human rights. They received a disarming response from their US colleagues, who explained that in the case of North Korea, there were no good options left. In my view, one of the Assembly's key tasks is to conduct these debates intensively and feed the outcomes into the national parliaments and the NAC.

And this brings me to a related question: in the transatlantic relationship, are we genuinely prepared to put on the table all the relevant information required for decision-making? In view of the substantial gap between the United States and Europe in the context of intelligence-gathering, satellite images etc., this question should be addressed to our US ally in particular.

I believe that an important task for the NATO PA is to continue to intensify its networking activities with government think-tanks and independent institutions so that it can form the fullest possible picture of conflict situations. But this does not mean relieving our

governments of their duty to deal as transparently as possible with the national parliaments and our allies. Overcoming the culture of secrecy is essential if we are to have any prospect of dismantling the mistrust that has arisen and achieving a durable consensus on a common approach to international crises.

The Importance of Strengthening the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) for Development of the Alliance

The future of NATO will depend to a crucial extent on whether Europe becomes a strong partner for the United States. This poses a major challenge for both sides. We Europeans must develop the capacity for partnership. And the United States must accept this process.

The United States will only be interested in genuine partnership within the NATO framework if it believes that support from European partners who have the capacity to act offers tangible benefits for America. The Europeans, for their part, can only develop the necessary additional crisis prevention and conflict management capabilities jointly within the European Union. That is why expanding Europe's foreign and defence policies is a prerequisite for fruitful transatlantic co-operation within the Alliance. But this is not just a matter of enhancing Europe's military capabilities.

The European Union is growing together into a political union. Although the path towards this goal is long and sometimes arduous, Europe is increasingly becoming a political stakeholder and global actor. Europe has an interest in a strong NATO, but it does not want to neglect the non-military problem dimensions. The European Union will continue to define common foreign policy interests and develop strategies which enable it to respond to international crises with an integrated strategy. It has a far broader mix of policy instruments at its disposal than any other international organization: these include political dialogue, trade, development policy, police co-operation and, lastly, military resources. The European Union thus has a unique capacity to respond to the multidimensional challenges facing the international community today.

As Europeans, we have a common interest in a NATO which is capable of taking action and serving as a forum for joint political decision-making. But are we really ready for partnership with the United States? To strengthen NATO's European pillar, we must genuinely engage in burden-sharing in Europe. This means pressing ahead with the formation of integrated European battle groups. In conceptual terms, the European Union's military units must be capable of carrying out missions on an independent basis. But joint action with the United States and Canada within the NATO framework will always be our preferred option. Following the expansion of the ESDP, we will increasingly speak with one voice in NATO

too. But will the United States be prepared to accept this development? That is the key question for the future of NATO.

Let me further elaborate on an important issue: a division of labour is a prerequisite for strengthening the European pillar. If a country decides not to maintain a navy or air force of its own, for example, it must be sure that it has access to its allies' logistical and other military assets in order to conduct its operations. This requires trust and confidence in the partners and in shared values, interests and policy strategies. In the European Union, are we already at the stage when we are willing to rely on others' support in the most fundamental area of state sovereignty, namely the military? And can a similar development be anticipated within the NATO framework in future?

Redefining the transatlantic relationship is a difficult process for both sides. In my view, however, it will succeed because the common interest in mastering these global challenges will ultimately prevail.

The Alliance and its Cohesion as a Community of Values

From the outset, the Alliance saw itself not just as a military alliance but as a community of values. Even after two enlargement rounds and the accession of several Central European countries, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and a market economy are still the defining features of our societies, influencing our conduct of international relations. The wealth of historical experience and the lessons learned from this for the future may have become more diverse, but our shared convictions and interests still create stronger bonds with our western allies than with any other partner. How important is this factor in terms of NATO's capacity to act? Our shared values can form the basis on which to build trust and confidence – the prerequisite for the greater integration of national capabilities that will enhance the Alliance's capacity to act.

The attacks of 11 September 2001 were essentially an attempt to destroy the open, pluralist society, based on the principles of human rights, democracy, the rule of law and freedom. That is why, in our efforts to combat terrorism, our primary aim must be to respect and protect these rights. The attacks have forced us to rethink the relationship between the principles of "openness" and "control" – but this cannot mean abandoning the fundamental tenets of the "open society".

In our campaign against international terrorism, and when dealing with other challenges, we must set the highest possible standards for ourselves in any operation involving NATO. The indefinite detention of terrorist suspects in Guantanamo Bay in Cuba and the abuse of detainees in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison are not minor lapses; they are of fundamental importance. These incidents have raised grave doubts – also among our own public – about the legitimacy of the action taken in Iraq, and have greatly strained cohesion within the

Alliance. But even more seriously, they have damaged the "West's" image in Islamic countries and, indeed, in the developing world as a whole. In these countries, these human rights violations are seen as proof that double standards are being applied. Terrorists can exploit this situation to incite hatred against the western community of nations and even to drum up new recruits. How do the benefits of incarcerating a few hundred terrorist *suspects* weigh against the information gained from these interrogations?

The public's doubts erode our credibility. They undermine confidence in the legitimacy of our action and in our advocacy of democracy and human rights. Dwindling international support decreases the prospect of successful action. In other words, we pay a price if we diverge from our own values and norms. Are we prepared to pay this price, or should we rather avoid this risk altogether?

Joint Visit of the Defence and Security Committee and the Political Committee to the FYR of Macedonia, April 2002.

But although we are still operating on the basis of the same shared values in the Alliance, the Europeans and the United States are now setting different priorities in some areas. Their respective security strategies illustrate this very clearly. The threat analysis presented in the US National Security Strategy of September 2002 and that presented in the European Security Strategy of December 2003 largely overlap. But the two documents differ in some of their policy recommendations.

In the light of the role played by European integration in overcoming our continent's legacy of conflict, the European countries see the juridification of conflict resolution and negotiated compromises as the more promising long-term strategy. The United States, on the other hand, is more inclined towards intervention and military action as a means of asserting its own interests, including in the short-term. This approach has been successful on many occasions in America's history.

As the European Union's Security Strategy shows, the Europeans are also willing to resort to military intervention in order to avert an immediate threat or curb massive human rights violations. There is a clear preference, in this context, for a UN Security Council

mandate, as it increases the legitimacy of intervention and thus improves the prospects of success. But what happens if, as in the case of Kosovo or currently Sudan, action by the Security Council is vetoed by some of its permanent members? Standing by while murder and expulsions take place was seen as unacceptable in Kosovo in 1999, which was why NATO prosecuted a war against the Milosevic regime.

If, as an Alliance, we want to maintain our capacity to act in the twenty-first century, we must agree the conditions under which the use of military force is justified other than for self-defence. The Secretary General of NATO, Mr Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, is still pressing for this strategic dialogue to take place inside NATO. In the NATO PA, we are already engaged in an open-ended discussion of these contentious issues – much to the astonishment and gratification of NATO Council members who attended the historic first joint meeting between the plenary of the NATO PA and the NAC in Venice in November 2004.

Visit to Georgia of the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe, April 2003.

Expanding the Alliance and its Capacity to Act

The direction of NATO's future development has implications for the process of enlargement as well. If we want to keep open the option of developing NATO as an organization which votes unanimously for joint action on a binding basis, each additional round of enlargement must be weighed up carefully. In this scenario, far more stringent criteria will have to be applied to future members than if NATO is simply regarded as a forum in which to forge "coalitions of the willing". At the same time, of course, NATO's interest in fostering stability and democracy may be an argument in favour of a more open Alliance. The various interests and implications must therefore be carefully considered.

These issues too must be addressed sooner rather than later – for today's promises are mapping out a route for tomorrow's development. Alongside Albania, Croatia and Macedonia, new candidates from further east – including Georgia, Azerbaijan and Ukraine – are already knocking on NATO's door. In every case, there are legitimate security interests, not only for the countries themselves but also for NATO, that can be used to justify accession. But the chorus of voices in the United States calling for their rapid integration suggests that

there may also be a preference for NATO to become a forum for consultations – and that is something we need to talk about.

From a European perspective, it is important to make a clearer distinction between co-operation and integration. The global challenges facing us certainly justify the expansion of NATO's network of partners. Nonetheless, if we want an effective decision-making body, we must consider the accession of every new member carefully on a case-by-case basis. Are the shared values, interests and political cultures robust enough to avoid any obstruction of the decision-making processes and of the Alliance's capacity to act? Or have we already given up any hope of creating a "European identity"? Indeed, should we view NATO as entirely separate from this process? While the European Union is striving for the progressive consolidation of the Union, NATO is evolving into an increasingly loose association. Is that what we want? And how will this affect the interaction between NATO and the European Union?

Visit to Slovenia of the Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe, March 2001.

Military Transformation and Political Decision-Making

In many countries, the military is learning lessons from the IT revolution and other technological innovations that play a key role in globalization. A comprehensive transformation process is under way, which began in the US military as early as the 1970s. Responding to this challenge, NATO set up its Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in Norfolk, Virginia, in 2003 in order to develop strategies and standards for this transformation and co-ordinate the ongoing processes in the NATO countries.

Briefly, the intention is to provide each segment of the armed forces with the information it requires for situation analysis and decision-making. As part of this process, efforts are under way to network with civilian actors and institutions in order to draw on their expertise as well. At the same time, the forces' different capabilities will be closely co-ordinated in order to create synergies, and this in turn will avert threats or establish operational dominance in a particular region.

Political decision-making processes in the Alliance appear to be lagging far behind these developments in terms of procedure, comprehensive analysis of problems and prompt

decision-making. A key task for the NATO PA is to improve its understanding of these processes and initiate a debate about the implications for policy-making.

NATO's Future Agenda

Global problems such as international terrorism, the threat of WMD proliferation, state failure and organized crime can only be mastered through a comprehensive strategy in which financial, economic, scientific, legal and other civilian instruments are deployed in conjunction with military resources. In essence, there are two options available: NATO can extend its competencies, or it can continue to focus on military activities and intensify its co-operation and co-ordination with other international organizations.

Addressing a meeting of the NATO PA in February 2002 following the attacks of 11 September 2001, Chris Donnelly, then Special Advisor to the former NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson, recommended that a network of specialized councils of ministers be established for NATO in response to the multidimensional nature of the new challenges. In the light of recent negative experiences, I believe that a less ambitious approach is called for. NATO should confine itself to military and intelligence tasks and step up its co-operation with other international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and other regional organizations in order to create the necessary synergies. But who should take over the task of co-ordinating this process? For some global challenges, such as climate change, combating AIDS or poverty reduction, the UN is ideally suited to this leadership role. On security issues, however, the "western" community of nations should take on this task. There may be a need to create a new framework for dialogue in this field alongside NATO. Regular meetings could take place between the United States and the European Union (in the "1 + 1" format), focussing on ways of dealing with international problems and improving the co-ordination of capacities. And as both the United States and the European Union are key actors in all the international organizations mentioned above, they could lobby effectively for greater policy coherence.

But this certainly does not mean that NATO can neglect the political dimension. In the missions that have demanded the greatest commitment from NATO over the last decade – in the Balkans and in Afghanistan – there are increasing signs that the intensity of political efforts to resolve the conflict falls far short of the military's commitment to stabilizing the situation. Responsibility for reconstruction has been delegated to the UN and other international agencies, and political decision-makers' attention is absorbed by other crises. There is thus a constant risk of failure. Certainly, our troops on the ground are increasingly casting doubt on the rationale of these missions.

The question which repeatedly arises is this: are we willing and able to underpin our wide-ranging political goals – in this case, peacebuilding, peaceful inter-community relations in a multiethnic society, and the establishment of state structures – with practical measures, with human, financial and other resources? The fact that Mr de Hoop Scheffer needed nine months to implement the moderate increase in ISAF troops in the run-up to Afghanistan's presidential elections in October 2004 casts a highly unflattering light on our capacity to act. We all see Afghanistan as a test case for NATO in the fight against international terrorism, but sadly, progress is still painfully slow. In May 2004, in an unusual move, the NATO PA sent letters appealing to all Heads of State and Government leaders to make the necessary resources available immediately in order to avert violence in the context of Afghanistan's elections. By summer, the increase was achieved – and this undoubtedly contributed to the unexpectedly peaceful conduct of the poll.

There are now calls from many quarters for NATO to take on an enhanced role in combating the drugs trade so as to increase the authority of the central government. In some respects, this is understandable, for stable democratic development in Afghanistan is almost inconceivable without curbs on drug trafficking. But are we genuinely willing to allocate all the resources necessary to challenge the powerful position of the regional warlords?

The NATO PA has frequently and openly debated conflicts of interest, shortfalls in resource allocation and the apparent reluctance to adopt urgent decisions. These exchanges thrive on the adversarial nature of parliamentary debate, the broad range of topics dealt with by the Assembly and the diversity of views involved. From the outset, economic and civilian issues have been handled by the NATO PA's dedicated committees, whereas NATO itself, at best, merely focusses on the areas dealt with by its Political, Defence and Economics and Security Committees. The NATO PA began to think along the lines of a "comprehensive security concept" – which became increasingly significant in the 1980s – early on in this concept's development. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that a comprehensive security concept is essential if we are to respond appropriately to global problems. The NATO PA will therefore remain an important forum for strategic dialogue and the quest for a transatlantic consensus.

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The Science and Technology Committee

Lothar Ibrügger
Treasurer of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Member of the German Delegation. Former Chairman of the Science and Technology Committee.

In 1996, after a great deal of deliberation, the Scientific and Technical Committee decided to change its title to the "Science and Technology Committee". Behind this apparently trivial decision was an illuminating discussion about the nature of the Committee.

Neither the new nor the old title provides an adequate description of what the Committee actually does. For example, the Committee looks at fundamental military and security issues. To cite just a few: the impact of new technologies and tactics on the conduct of military operations; the military exploitation of space; the problems and opportunities for arms control presented by new technologies; and the threats posed by all forms of weapons proliferation and how the Alliance can minimize those threats. It would therefore be appropriate to add the word "Security" to the Committee's title.

Similarly, the Committee deals with issues such as the global climate change, ozone depletion, nuclear safety, and the disposal of nuclear waste. It would therefore be equally appropriate to add the word "Environment" to the title.

However, neither "Science" nor "Technology" could legitimately be dropped: the Committee also addresses a variety of national and international science and technology issues which would not be embraced either by the word "Security" or by the word "Environment". But the "Science, Technology, Security and Environment Committee" certainly holds little appeal as a useable title.

Consequently, the Science and Technology Committee retains this slightly misleading and – to some – off-putting title. However, the fact remains that this Committee addresses issues of crucial importance to the Alliance and to the nations represented within the Assembly, and these issues are far broader and more political than the Committee's title suggests.

The Origins of the Science and Technology Committee

The importance of science and technology to the North Atlantic community of nations was well recognized when the Assembly was created. Technology had played a crucial role in the Second World War, and it was clear that technological progress was vital to both prosperity and security. But there was grave concern that the West was losing its edge in technological achievements, particularly in the military field. The Soviet Union was making more rapid progress than had been expected in key areas such as nuclear weapons, military aircraft and ballistic missiles. Furthermore, the perceived trends did not bode well for the Alliance: the Soviet Union was producing trained scientific manpower at twice the annual per capita rate of the Atlantic community.

Science and technology were seen as one of the most important areas for non-military co-operation within the Alliance. In May 1956, the North Atlantic Council asked the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Italy and Norway to draw up recommendations on "ways and means to extend co-operation in non-military fields and to strengthen unity in the Atlantic Community" [1]. The Report of "Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation" (often referred to as the "Three Wise Men") was delivered to the Council and approved in December 1956. One section of the report was devoted to scientific and technical co-operation which the report described as of "special importance to the Atlantic community." "During the last decade, it has become ever clearer that progress in this field can be decisive in determining the security of nations and their position in world affairs" [2]. The report stressed the need to improve the quality and increase the supply of scientists, engineers, and technicians, and to ensure that every possibility of fruitful co-operation was examined.

Just a few weeks before the "Three Wise Men" delivered their report to the NATO Council, the second Conference of NATO Parliamentarians had taken place. For this second Conference, the parliamentarians met for the first time in committees, but none of the four committees – Economic, Political, Military, and Cultural – had science and technology as its main focus. However, driven by concerns about the narrowing gap between soviet and western capabilities in science and technology, upon the initiative of Senator Henry Jackson of the United States, the Economic Committee created "The Committee on the Provision of Scientific and Technical Personnel".

The Third Conference of NATO Parliamentarians took place in mid-November 1957, just five weeks after the Soviet Union had successfully placed *Sputnik 1*, the world's first artificial satellite, into orbit. Against this background, the Assembly met in a new, three-committee format: Military, Political and Scientific and Technical, and General Affairs. The Special Committee's report underlined concerns about the shortage of skilled scientific and technical manpower, and called for concerted efforts to encourage science education and to enhance contacts among scientists in the NATO nations.

In Paris from 16 to 19 December 1957, the NATO Council met for the first time at the level of Heads of Government, and among other things, acknowledged the proposals made by the NATO Parliamentarians Conference.[3] The Council agreed, among other things, on the need to increase the training of young people in scientific and technical subjects, and to seek to increase the effectiveness of national science efforts through greater pooling of facilities and

1. North Atlantic Council Communiqué, Paris, 4-5 May 1956.

2. Report of the Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation in NATO, Brussels, 13 December 1956, Paragraph 67.

3. North Atlantic Council Communiqué, Paris, 16-19 December 1957.

information. It also agreed to create a NATO Science Committee to include representatives from all NATO countries who could speak authoritatively in scientific policy.

In 1958, at the fourth NATO Parliamentarians Conference, the committee structure was revised and the five-committee format was established. It was at this Conference that the Assembly's Scientific and Technical Committee came into being.

The Committee's Early Years

During the Committee's early years, its clear emphasis was on the so-called "Article 2" dimension of NATO. The concept underlying this Article – that NATO is a community of nations with shared values, beliefs and interests, and not only a collective defence alliance – was central to the parliamentarians who created the Assembly, and they wished to see that concept embodied in the work of NATO and in the NATO Parliamentarians Conference.

This was certainly the philosophy adopted by the Scientific and Technical Committee which placed heavy emphasis on matters which were important to the NATO community of nations, but which were not directly related to the specific security challenges of the Cold War. These challenges were certainly not ignored, but during the Committee's first few years, they featured far less prominently and less frequently than "core" security matters.

The Committee also had a close relationship with NATO's Science Committee which as one of its main missions sought to redress some of the Alliance's perceived shortcomings in science education, training and international collaboration which had been identified by the Scientific and Technical Committee. The NATO Science Committee initiated programmes which provided grants for scientists to be trained and conduct research in other NATO nations, and it also funded advanced international "workshops" and seminars for leading scientists. These programmes grew to cover an extremely broad range of topics, all of which were specifically civilian in nature.

Over the years, the Science Committee created further programmes. The Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) was created in 1969 to provide co-ordinate pilot studies and provide limited support for seminars, and fellowships in environment areas, and the Science for Stability Programme, created in 1980, to provide assistance to NATO's less prosperous members.

During the Cold War, NATO's support for civilian science received little public attention although its programmes were highly regarded within the scientific community. However, for the first two decades of NATO's Science Programme, the Assembly's Scientific and Technical Committee maintained a high level of interest in its activities, and provided political backing for its programmes. Indeed, the Scientific and Technical Committee had observer status on the CCMS until the early 1980s when the Committee's focus shifted more towards security issues.

The Committee in the 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s, while maintaining its interest in NATO's science programme and occasionally "revisiting" the shortage of qualified scientific and technical personnel in Alliance countries, the Committee began to address additional issues which, it was felt, were of relevance to the nations in the Atlantic community. Concerns about non-renewable resources and environmental pollution featured heavily in the Committee's work throughout the 1960s, before these issues arrived in the "mainstream" of national and international politics. Pollution of the oceans and the atmosphere, and the depletion of the world's marine resources received particular attention, and the Committee also examined some more specific matters such as the Arctic environment and – at the other extreme – the problems of desertification and arid regions.

In the wake of the thalidomide tragedy, the Committee studied how to improve international exchanges of information on pharmaceuticals, and its report on that subject was cited as one of the factors which led the World Health Organization to adopt a resolution on that subject.[4]

4. The Parliamentarians Role in the Alliance: The North Atlantic Assembly 1955-1980. Brussels, 1981. Page 143.

While civil issues were the main focus of attention during the 1960s, security matters were not neglected. The Committee looked at both the civil and military applications of space, the institutional arrangements for transatlantic co-operation in aerospace research, and some of the technological aspects of arms control and disarmament.

In the 1970s, the Committee maintained its interest in "transfrontier" pollution, and it also began a detailed examination of the illegal use of narcotics. However, the oil shocks of the 1970s led the Committee – and indeed the Assembly – to place more emphasis on the problems of energy supply. In 1973, a joint sub-committee was created involving the Scientific and Technical Committee, the Military Committee and the Economics Committee[5]. Its goal was to take an interdisciplinary approach to the problem of securing energy supplies. This led the Scientific and Technical Committee to conduct a comprehensive examination of energy issues which addressed fossil fuels, nuclear energy, renewable energy sources, and energy conservation. This work continued with varying degrees of emphasis throughout the 1970s.

5. This joint Sub-Committee remained active until 1979, although the Military Committee ceased to participate in 1975.

Towards the end of the 1970s, the Committee decided to examine the technologies and policy implications of genetic manipulation. As with its work in environmental issues, this served to heighten parliamentary interest in a topic which was of growing concern and which had far-reaching implications. This work continued into the early 1980s when the Committee underwent a sharp change in direction.

The Committee in the 1980s – Changing Focus

Since its creation, the Committee had focussed mainly on issues which had only indirect security implications. However, it was becoming evident that technology was having an

ever-increasing impact on the strategic environment. The information revolution was having a profound impact on the nature of weapons systems with, for instance, precision guidance being applied to a broad array of conventional weapons systems and to nuclear systems such as the cruise missile and – potentially – strategic defence systems. Soviet efforts to acquire western militarily related technologies were of growing concern, and the West's technology export controls were the source of great controversy. Furthermore, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction appeared to be a looming threat. Worldwide technological progress seemed to be making it easier for nations to develop and acquire nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and the means for their delivery.

While many of these matters might have seemed natural subjects for the Assembly's Military and Political Committees, those Committees were addressing other matters of pressing concern to the Alliance. To cite just one example, in 1979, NATO had decided to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe in response to the threats posed by Soviet SS-20 missiles and the *Backfire* bomber. Arms control negotiations on these and other systems were attracting enormous attention, and a heated Alliance-wide public debate was under way as the deployment of these weapons became imminent. However, there were a number of "hard" security issues with technological roots which were not being thoroughly addressed by the Assembly as a whole.

This led the Scientific and Technical Committee to shift its focus: civil issues would not be neglected, but technology-based security matters would move from the periphery to the centre of attention.

Thus, during the early 1980s, the Committee decided to examine developments in military space systems and strategic defences. It also began a detailed examination of technology transfer issues, and its hitherto sporadic interest in nuclear proliferation became much more systematic.

Its examinations of military space systems and particular of strategic defence technologies served to inform parliamentarians about progress in these areas. Strategic defence was a particularly controversial topic, and the Committee's reports provided a valuable balanced analysis of the relevant technologies and their implications. The Committee's work in technology transfer was more ambitious. There were many misperceptions about technology export controls, in particular those applied by the United States and those applied by the Paris-based Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM). Throughout the 1980s, the Committee produced reports explaining the facts about these controls and their implications, and committee members met senior policy makers and industrialists throughout the Alliance, taking note of their concerns and reporting upon them. Although it is impossible to quantify the effect that this effort may have had, there can be no doubt that the Committee helped erode the confusion and misperceptions that surrounded this subject.

As noted earlier, another major preoccupation, particularly in the first half of the 1980s, was the exploitation of space. While space was increasingly being seen as a theatre of military operations, there were also many opportunities for international co-operation in civil space programmes. Thus, having looked at some specific aspects of the exploitation of space in previous years, the Committee decided to conduct a thorough study of the world's major civil and military space programmes. This then led to a broader study of science and technology policies in the NATO nations and in the Soviet Union, with a view to exploring opportunities for enhanced co-operation.

Another major project for the Committee during the 1980s was a wide-ranging study of emerging technology and defence. It was becoming clear that technological progress was having a profound impact on the military. Developments in a wide variety of areas, particularly in information technology, seemed set to revolutionize the conduct of military operations. Consequently, the Committee appointed a special rapporteur who presented a comprehensive yet concise review of the technological developments that would affect operations on land, sea, air and space.

Despite this heavy, security-related agenda, the Committee did not turn its back on its environmental roots. Prompted by the Chernobyl accident in 1986, the Committee looked at nuclear safety issues and the problems posed by the long-term disposal of nuclear waste. And as the 1980s drew to a close, the Committee decided to address the threat of global environmental change. At that point, the problem of ozone depletion was well recognized but concerns about potential global warming were just beginning to feature on the international agenda, and it was clear that opinions on the subject differed widely. At issue were complex scientific arguments with profound political implications: this therefore was a natural subject for the Committee to address. As a result, climate change has appeared on the Committee's agenda on many occasions since the end of the 1980s and it shows every sign of being a regular feature for many years to come.

The End of the Cold War

During the late 1980s, dramatic events were taking place throughout Central and Eastern Europe. As the Cold War drew to a close, the Assembly was actively engaged in reaching out to the fledgling democratic forces in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Scientific and Technical Committee played a very active part in the Assembly's outreach efforts. Although it was not the first Assembly group to visit the Soviet Union – a presidential group made the first visit in July 1989 – the Scientific and Technical Committee was the first committee to hold a meeting there. At the invitation of the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences, in September 1989 the Committee's Sub-Committee on Co-operation in Research and Development visited research sites in Moscow, Novosibirsk, and Irkutsk.

The Committee also undertook the organization of the Assembly's first Rose-Roth seminars in Russia and Ukraine.

The seminar in Russia took place in Moscow in June and early July 1992 and involved committee members, western experts, and many specialists from Russia including several from "closed" cities engaged in nuclear weapons development and production who were meeting westerners for the first time. Although the content of this seminar was largely rather technical, it was clear that there was a genuine need for assistance to make surplus nuclear weapons and material safe and secure.

Members of the Scientific and Technical Committee visiting the Soviet Academy of Sciences, September 1989.

Similarly, the first Rose-Roth Seminar in Ukraine that took place in June 1993 focussed mainly on the problems created by the weapons legacy of the former Soviet Union. It also looked at Ukraine's environmental difficulties, notably the legacy of the Chernobyl accident, and the problems involved in restructuring Ukraine's armed forces. Ukrainian participants stressed that although Ukraine had found itself in possession of the world's third largest nuclear arsenal following the break-up of the Soviet Union, it was firmly committed to a nuclear-weapons-free future. However, there was great concern about finding the resources to deal with the warheads and delivery systems that it had inherited, and that its needs were being overlooked because the international community was focussing too exclusively on Russia.

Members of the Science and Technology Committee with Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations during meetings at the UN, June 1998.

The value of such meetings during that period cannot be overstated. The Assembly's many contacts with emerging democratic forces in Central and Eastern Europe provided encouragement, and helped to erode the inevitable atmosphere of mutual suspicion and uncertainty that followed the long Cold War. In that regard, the Scientific and Technical Committee was a particularly fruitful forum since much of its work addressed issues – such as climate change and WMD proliferation – where parliamentarians from East and West shared perspectives.

In fact, during the 1990s, the Committee systematically looked at a wide range of proliferation issues, including weapons of mass destruction and

From right, Hans Roesjorde (Norway); three former Committee chairmen: Lothar Ibrügger (Germany), Sir Peter Emery (United Kingdom), and Earl Hastings (Canada); former Committee Director David Hobbs, and Dirk Frimout, Belgium's first astronaut, Bruges, November 1992.

conventional arms. A particularly noteworthy highlight is that through the Scientific and Technical Committee's interest in nuclear non-proliferation, the Assembly was represented as a member delegation at the historic 1995 Non-Proliferation Extension and Review Conference at which the NPT was indefinitely extended.

The Committee also maintained its interest in military technology by looking at the revolution in military affairs, the challenge of information warfare, developments in the military use of space, and the technologies of non-lethal weapons.

Following the terrorist atrocities of 11 September 2001, the Committee focussed on technologies that might assist in the struggle against terrorism, and explored the measures that might be taken to prevent the terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction.

For the present, the Science and Technology Committee still strives to maintain a balance between "hard" and "soft" security issues. Many of the topics that it has addressed in the past will no doubt return in the future, and new subjects will certainly emerge as technological progress offers new opportunities and new challenges.

The Committee can look back over its almost 50-year history with a genuine sense of accomplishment. It has served to inform parliamentary and public debate about vitally important but often poorly understood issues.

* * *

Appendices

Appendix 1

Presidents, Treasurers and Secretaries General from 1955 to 2005

Presidents

1955 to 1956	Wishart McL. Robertson	Canada
1956 to 1957	Wayne L. Hays	United States
1957 to 1959	Johannes J. Fens	Netherlands
1959 to 1960	Antoine Béthouart	France
1960 to 1961	Nils Langhelle	Norway
1961 to 1962	Pietro Micara	Italy
1962 to 1963	Lord Crathorne	United Kingdom
1963 to 1964	Georg Kliesing	Germany
1964 to 1965	Henri Moreau de Melen	Belgium
1965 to 1966	José Soares da Fonseca	Portugal
1966 to 1967	Jean-Eudes Dubé	Canada
1967 to 1968	Matthias A. Mathiesen	Iceland
1968 to 1969	Kasim Gülek	Turkey
1969 to 1970	Wayne L. Hays	United States
1970 to 1971	Romain Fandel	Luxembourg
1971 to 1972	C. Terrence Murphy	Canada
1972 to 1973	John W. Peel	United Kingdom
1973 to 1975	Knud Damgaard	Denmark
1975 to 1977	Wayne L. Hays	United States
1977 to 1979	Sir Geoffrey de Freitas	United Kingdom
1979 to 1980	Paul Thyness	Norway
1980 to 1982	Jack Brooks	United States
1982 to 1983	Peter Corterier	Germany
1983 to 1985	Sir Patrick Wall	United Kingdom
1985 to 1986	Charles McC Mathias	United States
1986 to 1988	Ton Frinking	Netherlands
1988 to 1990	Sir Patrick Duffy	United Kingdom
1990 to 1992	Charlie Rose	United States
1992 to 1994	Loïc Bouvard	France
1994 to 1996	Karsten Voigt	Germany
1996 to 1998	William Roth	United States
1998 to 2000	Javier Ruperez	Spain
2000	Tom Bliley*	United States
2000 to 2002	Rafael Estrella	Spain
2002 to 2004	Doug Bereuter	United States
2004 to present	Pierre Lellouche	France

* Acting President

Treasurers

1955 to 1957	Walter Elliot	Canada
1958 to 1960	Sir Geoffrey de Freitas	United Kingdom
1960 to 1961	Henri Fayat	Belgium
1961 to 1966	Jean Chamant	France
1967 to 1974	Pierre de Chevigny	France
1975 to 1979	Paul Langlois	Canada
1980	Marius J. J. van Amelsvoort	Netherlands
1980 to 1994	Robert Laucournet	France
1994 to 1996	Charlie Rose	United States
1996 to 2001	Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith	United Kingdom
2001 to present	Lothar Ibrügger	Germany

Secretaries General

1955 to 1960	Douglas Robinson**	United Kingdom
1960 to 1968	O. van Hinloopen Labberton	Netherlands
1968 to 1986	Philippe Deshormes	Belgium
1987 to 1996	Peter Corterier	Germany
1997 to present	Simon Lunn	United Kingdom

** Executive Secretary

Appendix 2

Structure and Organisation

David Hobbs
and
Simon Lunn

Participation

All the parliaments of NATO nations have delegations assigned to the Assembly. The size of each delegation is related very loosely to population, and the political balance reflects the political composition of the parliament. Assembly participation, however, is not limited to the twenty-six NATO nations: the Assembly has created various forms of status for parliaments of currently thirty non-NATO nations and interparliamentary assemblies to enable them to become involved to varying degrees in the Assembly's activities.

Structures

Each of the Assembly's members is assigned to one or more of the Assembly's five committees. Three of these committees each have two sub-committees, while the two other committees have just one sub-committee each.

Each committee's annual programme of work typically involves two visits by each sub-committee, plus occasional committee visits. The committees also meet during the Assembly's twice-yearly sessions when they discuss their reports and hear from a wide variety of speakers.

In addition to the committees, the Assembly has three special groups. The Mediterranean Special Group meets in a "members only" format once a year, but also holds two seminars per year to which legislators from many Mediterranean nations are invited. The Assembly also has bilateral groups with the parliaments of Russia and Ukraine which reflect at the parliamentary level the special relationships that NATO has with those countries.

Committee Structure

COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY
- Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance

DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE
- Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation
- Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities

ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE
- Sub-Committee on East-West Economic Co-operation and Convergence
- Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations

POLITICAL COMMITTEE
- Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships
- Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE
- Sub-Committee on the Proliferation of Military Technology

Special Groups

MEDITERRANEAN SPECIAL GROUP

NATO-RUSSIA PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

UKRAINE-NATO INTERPARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

Participation in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Member Delegations

The parliaments of all the NATO nations are members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Each member parliament is entitled to assign a certain number of voting members – the numbers are based very loosely on population – and an equal number of non-voting "alternate" members. Parliaments are free to select members according to their own procedures, but the delegation has to reflect the political composition of the parliament. The current total of members is 248.

Associate Delegations

The category of associate delegations was created in 1990 and extended to the Soviet Union, most – and shorty afterwards all – of the members of the former Warsaw Pact. When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, associate membership was granted to Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine. This was gradually expanded to include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova. In addition, associate membership was granted to several traditionally neutral nations and some of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia. Belarus' status was suspended in 1997 due to concerns about the legitimacy of its parliament.

Associate delegations do not contribute to the Assembly's budget and are not entitled to vote in the Assembly's proceedings. They are invited to Assembly sessions, Rose-Roth seminars, the New Parliamentarians Programme, the Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum, and Parliamentary Staff Training Programmes, and most committee and sub-committee activities. They have full speaking rights in committee and plenary discussion, and they can present texts and amendments, but they may not vote. They can be elected as associate rapporteurs and can therefore present reports to committees.

Ten former associate delegations are now member delegations of the Assembly following their accession to NATO. There are currently thirteen associate delegations with a total of 61 delegates.

Mediterranean Associate Delegations

At the end of 2004, the Assembly created a new category of status, Mediterranean associate membership. The intention of granting this status is to permit legislators from the southern Mediterranean and the Middle East to participate as fully as possible in the Assembly's large, "fixed site" events such as sessions and seminars as well as training programmes. Mediterranean associate members have the same rights as associate members regarding Assembly sessions and seminars, but – like parliamentary observers – they do not participate in committee and sub-committee meetings outside sessions. There are currently five Mediterranean associate delegations.

Parliamentary Observers

There are currently eight parliamentary observer delegations, and each can nominate a three-person delegation. Some see this status as a "stepping stone" to associate membership, while others find that this status represents an appropriate level of involvement. Parliamentary observers are invited to Assembly sessions and may speak in committee and plenary discussions at the discretion of the committee chairmen and the President respectively. They are also invited to participate in seminars and training programmes where these are relevant to them.

The European Parliament

When it became clear that NATO and the European Union were developing closer ties, the Assembly and the European Parliament agreed to reflect this at the parliamentary level. The Assembly therefore granted the European Parliament a special status allowing it to nominate a 10-member delegation to participate in Assembly sessions. Members of this delegation have the same rights as associate members except that they cannot present amendments to Assembly texts. For its part, the European Parliament invites Assembly members to participate in certain of its hearings on international relations and defence.

Interparliamentary Assemblies

Three interparliamentary assemblies participate in Assembly sessions and seminars. Their rights are essentially the same as those of parliamentary observers.

Composition of the Assembly

Member Delegations [1]	number
United States	36
France	18
Germany	18
Italy	18
United Kingdom	18
Canada	12
Poland	12
Spain	12
Turkey	12
Romania	10
Belgium	7
Czech Republic	7
Greece	7
Hungary	7
Netherlands	7
Portugal	7
Bulgaria	6
Denmark	5
Norway	5
Slovakia	5
Lithuania	4
Estonia	3
Iceland	3
Latvia	3
Luxembourg	3
Slovenia	3
TOTAL	248

1. Delegations are selected by national parliaments according to respective national practices and represent the political composition of their parliaments.
2. Associates can participate in most Assembly activities but do not vote nor contribute to the budget.
3. Belarus is currently suspended.
4. The Assembly also has a distinctive relationship with the Russian Federal Assembly. The NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee meets twice per year as a body of 27 equal members. Russia is also invited to participate in the Assembly's Mediterranean Seminars.
5. In addition, the Assembly has a distinctive relationship with Ukraine. The Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Committee meets twice per year with approximately equal numbers of participants from the Assembly's members and from the Ukrainian parliament.

Associate Delegations [2,3]	Number
Russia [4]	10
Ukraine [5]	8
Austria	5
Azerbaijan	5
Sweden	5
Switzerland	5
Finland	4
Georgia	4
Albania	3
Armenia	3
Croatia	3
Moldova	3
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*	3
TOTAL	61

Mediterranean Associate Delegations	
Algeria	6
Morocco	6
Israel	4
Jordan	4
Mauritania	3

European Parliament	10

Parliamentary Observers	
Australia	3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3
Egypt	3
Japan	3
Kazakhstan	3
Palestinian Legislative Council	3
Serbia and Montenegro	3
Tunisia	3

Interparliamentary Assemblies	
OSCE PA	3
WEU Assembly	3
PACE	3

* Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

The Standing Committee and the Bureau

The Standing Committee is the Assembly's governing body. The voting members on this committee are the Heads of the member delegations, each with one vote. The Assembly's President, five Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer are also members of the Committee but only vote if they also serve as the Head of their delegation.

The chairmen of the Assembly's five committees and the chairman of the Mediterranean Special Group are ex-officio members of the Standing Committee. Each delegation can also appoint one non-voting alternate member.

The Standing Committee performs a wide range of both political and administrative tasks. For instance, it determines the rights and obligations of non-member delegations and evaluates applications for non-member status which, if approved, are forwarded for the consideration of the full Assembly. It also co-ordinates the overall work of the Assembly: it must approve all planned meetings and provides guidance to the committees on the treatment of subjects to avoid duplication and ensure that the overall work of the Assembly is co-ordinated. The Standing Committee also serves as the Assembly's finance committee.

The Standing Committee holds three meetings each year: two of these take place during the Assembly's sessions, and the other – usually in late March or early April – takes place as an event in itself.

The officers of the Assembly – the President, the five Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and the Secretary General – are known as the Assembly's Bureau. The Bureau holds meetings within the framework of the three Standing Committee meetings. The Bureau members are often called upon to represent the Assembly at events requesting Assembly participation such as meetings of other interparliamentary assemblies and international conferences.

Members of the Bureau

President	Pierre Lellouche (France)
Vice-Presidents	Pierre Claude Nolin (Canada) Giovanni Lorenzo Forcieri (Italy) Bert Koenders (Netherlands) Jozef Banas (Slovakia) Vahit Erdem (Turkey)
Treasurer	Lothar Ibrügger (Germany)
Secretary General	Simon Lunn

Activities

Each of these committees, sub-committees and special groups meets several times each year. However, these do not represent the full range of Assembly activities, which in a typical year consists of about forty meetings.

Sessions

The most significant of these meetings are, of course, the twice-yearly sessions. Unlike some other interparliamentary assemblies, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly does not have a permanent location for its plenary sessions. Instead, these take place in member and associate nations, either in the national parliament or in a conference centre.

During the sessions, as noted above, each committee meets to discuss the committee and sub-committee reports and to hear briefings from invited speakers. During the annual sessions, the committees also prepare policy recommendations which are submitted for subsequent amendment and adoption during the plenary sitting which takes place on the final day of the session. These policy recommendations represent the official views of the Assembly and they are circulated to governments and parliaments, and to NATO.

The plenary sitting is usually addressed by the Assembly's President, senior government officials from the host nation, and NATO's Secretary General.

During sessions, there are also meetings of the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee and of the Assembly's Standing Committee.

Bearing in mind that the number of participants is generally greater than 700 (not including local staff and press) the sessions are very substantial events.

Rose-Roth Seminars

Established following the end of the Cold War, Rose-Roth seminars remain a key feature of the Assembly's activities. The original goal of these seminars was to assist the parliaments of Central and East European nations in making the transition from being "rubber stamp" bodies into fully functioning, pluralist representative legislatures. The intention of this programme was to share the considerable parliamentary expertise of the Assembly's members with parliamentarians in the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, and thereby to help them ensure effective parliamentary involvement in defence and security.

The type of subjects addressed were civil-military relations, defence conversion, scrutiny of defence budgets etc.; but it rapidly became evident that the seminars were also extremely useful vehicles for catalyzing dialogue on regional security issues. For instance, as described in chapter 4, the first seminars held in the Baltic states helped to initiate or promote dialogue between national governmental and parliamentary leaders on the one hand, and Soviet (then

Assembly Activities in 2005

January	
United States	Defence and Security Committee
Poland	Presidential Visit
February	
Belgium	February Meetings (Defence and Security Committee, Economics and Security Committee, Political Committee)
France	Economics and Security Committee
March	
Kazakhstan	Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security
United Kingdom	Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations
Croatia	Rose-Roth Seminar
Afghanistan	Heads of Delegation and Bureau Visit
April	
Iceland	Standing Committee
Belgium	Meeting of the Standing Committee with the North Atlantic Council
Kosovo and the FYR of Macedonia	Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities
United States	Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations
Russia	Sub-Committee on the Proliferation of Military Technology
Ukraine	Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council and Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships
May	
Jordan	Mediterranean Special Group
Jordan	Mediterranean Dialogue Seminar
Israel and Palestine	Presidential Visit
Slovenia	Spring Session
June	
Norway and Sweden	Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation
Serbia and Montenegro	Rose-Roth Seminar
United Arab Emirates	Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships
Italy	Mediterranean Dialogue Seminar
Belgium	Defence Institution Building Training Programme for Georgian Senior Officials
July	
China	Economics and Security Committee
Belgium	New Parliamentarians Programme
September	
United States	Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security
Latvia	Sub-Committee on East-West Economic Co-operation and Convergence
Afghanistan	Election monitoring
Lithuania	Seminar on Belarus
Canada	Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation
Spain and Portugal	Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations
October	
Armenia	Rose-Roth Seminar
Germany	Sub-Committee on the Proliferation of Military Technology
Serbia and Montenegro	Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities
Ukraine	Presidential Visit
Austria and Bosnia and Herzegovina	Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships
Belgium	Parliamentary Staff Training Course
November	
Azerbaijan	Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security
Denmark	Annual Session
Qatar	Mediterranean Dialogue Seminar
December	
United States	Transatlantic Parliamentary Forum
Belgium	Parliamentary Staff Training Course
French Guyana	Science and Technology Committee

Russian) forces still deployed in the Baltic states on the other. Consequently, the seminars also developed a substantial regional dimension.

Over the years, the focus of Rose-Roth seminars has evolved in order to maintain their relevance. For instance, as increasing numbers of Central and East European nations have joined the Alliance, the regional focus has increasingly shifted to the Balkans and the South Caucasus.

Each year, the Assembly holds three – sometimes four – Rose-Roth seminars, and each typically involves about 100 participants.

Mediterranean Seminars

Following the success of the Rose-Roth seminars, the Assembly adapted this model for conducting dialogue with partner nations in the southern Mediterranean. There are usually two of these seminars each year, and the intention is to explore areas of common interest with representatives from the southern Mediterranean, and increasingly the Middle East.

The Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum

The Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum is a relatively new addition to the Assembly's annual calendar of activities. In the late 1990s, the Assembly's Standing Committee decided to create this Forum as a means for exploring what has been described as political "transatlantic drift", the notion that a different "world view" sometimes seemed to be emerging in the United States, which if left unchecked had the potential to erode transatlantic solidarity. This Forum, which is co-organized by the National Defense University and the Atlantic Council of the United States, brings together parliamentarians and the Washington-based policy-making and-shaping community to discuss all the key issues on the Alliance's agenda through the "lens" of the transatlantic relationship.

The "February Meetings"

The "February Meetings" are a long-standing feature of the Assembly's annual calendar. Each February, three Committees – Defence and Security, Economics and Security, and Political – meet in Brussels, where they are briefed by the Alliance's most senior civilian and military officials. In addition, the Assembly's Standing Committee holds a meeting with the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council. The February programme also frequently involves meetings with senior European Union officials with responsibilities relevant to the Assembly's interests.

Committee and Sub-Committee Meetings

Each of the eight sub-committees normally holds two meetings per year, and these can be as short as two days or as long as five. Participation varies from as few as ten parliamentarians up to more than fifty. These meetings allow participants to investigate their topics of interest in considerable depth and to hear from governmental, parliamentary and academic specialists in the region being visited. When a visit is likely to be of particular political significance, it might involve a full committee rather than a sub-committee. Meetings in Moscow, for instance, are often at the full committee level and indeed frequently involve more than one committee. And in 2005, it was the full Economics and Security Committee that held the Assembly's first ever meeting in China.

The NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee and the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council

Since they are described in chapters 7 and 8 respectively, the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee and the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council need little elaboration. Both reflect at the parliamentary level NATO's distinctive form of partnership and co-operation with Russia and Ukraine. In purely practical terms, these Assembly bodies function in rather different ways. The NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee consists of the Assembly's Standing Committee and the Heads of the Russian delegation meeting in an "at 27" format. This committee meets twice per year, normally at the beginning of the Assembly sessions.

The Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council consists of two representatives from each of the Assembly's five committees, and ten members of the Verkhovna Rada. This Council meets twice each year: once at NATO headquarters in Brussels, and once in Kyiv.

The Annual Study Visit

The Annual Study Visit began during the Cold War as the "Annual Military Tour", an opportunity for parliamentarians to visit Alliance military facilities, usually during the parliamentary summer recess. In more recent years, the focus of this visit broadened to reflect the changing concept of security, and this is reflected in its current title. The 2004 Annual Study Visit took place in Turkey where members visited a wide variety of military installations and facilities, and also learned at first-hand about Turkey's foreign and defence policy priorities, including its role in regional security and its efforts to achieve membership of the European Union. No Annual Study Visit took place in 2005 – the first "gap" since the visit's inception in 1957 due to the addition on the Assembly's programme of a mission to monitor parliamentary elections in Afghanistan. The 2006 Annual Study Visit is scheduled to take place in Romania.

Presidential and Bureau Visits

The Assembly's President typically makes three to four visits per year, often accompanied by the other members of the Assembly's Bureau. These visits always involve meetings at

the very highest levels of government and parliament. They provide nations with an opportunity to communicate their concerns and interests to the Assembly's leadership, and for the Assembly's leadership to promote the Assembly and its views to a particular nation.

Training Activities

Mention must be made of two other activities described in chapter 5: the New Parliamentarians Programme, and Parliamentary Staff Training. These programmes are intended to help equip parliamentarians and parliamentary staff to deal with security-related issues with which they are likely to be confronted in their national parliaments.

Themes in 2005

Through its many varied meetings the Assembly is able to address an extremely broad range of subjects: the list shown represents only the highlights. As well as familiarizing parliamentarians with these subjects and providing a vehicle for dialogue on them, the Assembly's activities enable the Assembly to build an energetic, international community of parliamentarians committed to promoting the values which unite the Atlantic Alliance.

Key Themes and Subjects for 2005

- The Transatlantic Relationship
- The Role and Relevance of the Alliance
- Alliance Operations in Afghanistan and Kosovo
- The War in Iraq and its Consequences for the Alliance
- Terrorism
- The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction
- Alliance Capabilities
- NATO Enlargement
- Deepening and Broadening Partnerships
  - The European Union
  - Russia
  - Ukraine
  - The South Caucasus
  - The Balkans
  - The Southern Mediterranean and the Middle East
- Examples of Other Current Topics
  - Belarus
  - China
  - The Northern Region
  - Climate change

The Assembly's Budget

The Assembly's annual budget is currently around €3.3 million. This budget is funded by the parliaments of all the member nations according to the same cost-sharing formula used for NATO's civil budget. NATO also makes a contribution. The budget is finalized by the Assembly's Standing Committee at each annual session and is approved by the entire Assembly at the plenary sitting.

The Secretary General implements the budget under the oversight of the Assembly's Treasurer, a parliamentarian who is an elected officer of the Assembly, and who ensures that the budget is consistent with the Assembly's political objectives. The Treasurer is responsible for drawing up the draft budget in consultation with the Secretary General. The Treasurer presents this draft budget and the Assembly's financial statements to the Standing Committee and then to the plenary assembly.

The Assembly's budget covers the salaries of the staff at the International Secretariat as well as the expenses related to the maintenance and running of the headquarters. The budget also covers the costs of staff participating in Assembly meetings such as sessions and committee activities. The participation of parliamentarians themselves is covered by their own parliaments.

Non-member delegations do not contribute to the Assembly's budget but they are responsible for the costs related to their delegates' participation in Assembly activities.

The Assembly receives additional funding from some other sources. The largest of these was a substantial contribution in the early 1990s from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for seminars and training in the Rose-Roth programme. Currently, the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and the Norwegian Foreign Ministry provide funding for some of the Assembly's training programmes for parliamentarians and parliamentary staff. NATO also frequently contributes funding for Assembly seminars.

* * *

Appendix 3

The International Secretariat

David Hobbs
and
Simon Lunn

The Assembly's International Secretariat consists of 30 permanent staff from nine NATO member countries. In purely practical terms, the Secretariat is responsible for arranging over 40 meetings in almost 40 countries each year. This entails not only an enormous amount of practical preparation, but also substantial political expertise.

The meetings themselves range in size from the Assembly's sessions, which typically involve around 700 people (the record is over 1,000) from about 50 countries and organizations, down to much smaller events which might involve only a handful of participants.

The range of subjects addressed by the Assembly is also extremely broad. Naturally, the Assembly deals with the full range of topics that are directly relevant to NATO, but it also addresses subjects that its members feel are relevant to the NATO community of nations, such as transatlantic trade and global climate change.

All this produces a very demanding workload for a relatively small staff.

The Secretary General is responsible for the overall management of the International Secretariat. He and his policy team are also responsible for providing advice and guidance to the Standing Committee on the focus and orientation of the Assembly's activities and on the co-ordination of these activities. In other words, his job is to ensure that the International Secretariat fulfils the substantive and administrative tasks required by the Assembly's members. Assisting the Secretary General in managing the Secretariat are the Deputy Secretary General, the Deputy to the Secretary General for Policy Co-ordination, and the Head of Administration and Finance. This management team ensures that the Assembly's policy staff and its administrative staff work effectively together.

In many ways, the Assembly's intellectual "engine rooms" are the committees and their sub-committees, and the Mediterranean Special Group. Each committee has a director who has substantive expertise in their committee's areas of interest. The committee directors, guided by the committee's officers, develop annual programmes of work, including report topics, meeting locations, guest speakers etc. All the committees meet during sessions and some meet outside the session context. In addition, each of the eight sub-committees meets up to twice per year. The directors are supported administratively by committee co-ordinators who undertake the practical management of the committee's activities. The committee director always accompanies the committees and sub-committees for which he or she is responsible, with, where necessary, a committee co-ordinator.

The other main group of Assembly meetings – apart from sessions – are the Rose-Roth seminars. Typically three Rose-Roth seminars take place each year, and these are arranged by the Deputy to the Secretary General for Policy Co-ordination. Practical matters are dealt

The 'Other' Family

As can be seen from many of these contributions, membership of the Assembly is frequently referred to as resembling that of an extended family. The friendships created between members ignore national and party lines and go beyond political differences. They are an enduring feature of the Assembly's work.

There is, however, another 'family', less visible, but an equally essential part of the Assembly. This is the 'family' of those who in one way or another assist the Secretariat in ensuring the effective functioning of the Assembly, particularly in the culmination of its work, the bi-annual plenary sessions. First, there is the inner circle, the network of secretaries of national delegations who constitute the essential link between the Assembly and its membership and who work with us all year in ensuring that Assembly activities are well supported. It is appropriate here to mention our longest-serving Secretary of Delegation, Frans van Melkebeke for the advice he has offered and the work he has done on our behalf to help us feel at home in Belgium. The second circle is the parliamentary staff seconded during sessions from the United Kingdom Parliament, the French National Assembly, the German Bundestag and the Netherlands Binnenhof, whose professional expertise we have come to depend on to fill a variety of key advisory positions. In this respect, the United Kingdom Parliament deserves special acknowledgement for the regular cohort of clerks who support Assembly sessions and whose presence has become a much appreciated feature of Assembly life. Last but not least, there is the myriad of temporary personnel and consultants who boost the numbers of the Secretariat during the plenary sessions in a variety of occupations. Of these it would be impossible not to single out the Danish communications expert, Jan Reuther, whose sterling and ever-dependable service over many years has ensured the smooth functioning of the most important element of all – communication in multiple languages.

The fact that these diverse contributions are able to assemble twice a year and integrate easily into the International Secretariat to form a cohesive and coherent team is due to the close personal relations built up over the years and to the respect, trust and confidence developed, sustained and passed on. Our appreciation and thanks to them all.

Simon Lunn

The Research Assistant Programme

Paul Cook
Director, Economics and Security Committee,
NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Every year, the Secretariat employs 10 paid research assistants from NATO member and associate countries to assist the staff in fulfilling its wide-ranging research mission. In general, five of these researchers begin their tenure in late January and finish in June, while the second group works from late August to late November. Candidates for the position are required to have completed a masters degree in international affairs, history, political science, economics or a related field. A number of recent researchers have been PhD students working on dissertations in these areas. These research positions are now widely recognized as being among the most interesting internships in the field of international affairs. The programme is given wide publicity in major universities throughout Europe and North America and it also features on the NATO PA website. Not surprisingly, the Assembly receives hundreds of applications every year from exceedingly well-qualified candidates for very few openings.

These very talented and motivated researchers play an enormously important role in the life of the Secretariat. They provide a natural bridge to the academic world, they inject new ideas and approaches into the Assembly's research work and they add youthful vigour and even greater international diversity to an already multinational and dynamic staff. Moreover, once these researchers leave the Assembly and take up positions in government, international organizations and academia, they become part of a vital international network, which is often an extremely helpful resource for the Secretariat staff and Assembly members.

For their part, the researchers have an outstanding opportunity to apply the learning they have acquired at university to the world of policy, politics and diplomacy. In an important way, this both consummates their own education and represents a first foray into the professional world of international affairs. Researchers not only work on a range of policy briefs, but also help develop ideas for seminars and committee visits. At the same time, they play an instrumental role in supporting the Secretariat at annual sessions and at the joint commitee meetings in Brussels that take place every February.

The feedback from former researchers about their experiences has been overwhelmingly positive. Many feel that this unique experience helped transform their understanding of matters that had once seemed theoretical and abstract to issues of great relevance to global and national politics. Moreover, these young people suggest that their months with the Assembly helped them to develop their own intellectual and professional networks that serve them for years after their experience. Those bonds, in turn, help to cement the ties that bind the Alliance and partner nations together.

The Headquarters

Sébastien Botella
Finance Officer,
NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

The Assembly has had its headquarters at 3 place du Petit Sablon, Brussels, since April 1968. The building was rented until 1989 when it was purchased by the Assembly to avoid rapidly escalating rents.

The "Sablon" area where the headquarters is located consists of eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings. The area's name originates from the time when it was astride a sandy road leading to the city gates. The yellowish layer of sandy clay exposed on each side of the road was called *"zavel"* in Dutch and *"sablon"* in French

The headquarters building overlooks two notable Brussels landmarks: the "Parc du Petit Sablon" and the church "Notre-Dame du Sablon". The site of the Parc du Petit Sablon was originally a horse market, but was converted in 1890 into an elegant garden which has become one of Brussels' best-known green spaces. Among its many features, perhaps the best known, are its 48 gothic pillars, each featuring a bronze statue which represents one of the diverse mediaeval trades or guilds, and a statue of the Dukes d'Egmont and de Hoorn, both of whom were beheaded in 1568 for demanding more sovereignty for their country which was then under Spanish rule.

"Notre Dame du Sablon" is one of the most famous churches in Brussels. Originally a small chapel for the guild of archers, it became a place of pilgrimage following the arrival in 1348 of a statue of the Virgin Mary which was reputed to have healing powers. Today's church was completed in the sixteenth century and is one of the most impressive pieces of Gothic architecture in Belgium.

The building housing the Assembly's headquarters was constructed in the eighteenth century and originally consisted of several buildings – three residences – which were gradually joined over the years.

The present interior and façade were designed in 1911 by the well-known Brussels architect Adrien Blomme (1878-1940). What is now the rear section of the headquarters was a separate building until 1949 when it was extended and joined to the main structure. The headquarters' exterior has remained largely unchanged since then. In the past, the building has been used as a milliner's studio and workshop, and as offices for a law firm, an architect, an insurance company and Belgium's ministry of public works.

In April 1985, the building was severely damaged by a bomb placed by the terrorist group "Revolutionary Front for Proletarian Action" (FRAP) at the rear of the building. This practically destroyed most of the ground floor offices and caused considerable damage throughout the building, and even to neighbouring houses. Fortunately, since the incident took place early on a Saturday morning, the building was unoccupied, and the residents of neighbouring buildings escaped injury.

The building suffered another major incident in October 1998. As the final touches were being made to offices that had been installed in the previously unused attic, leaks were found in the roof. The repair work involved some welding which started a fire; this entirely destroyed the top floor before it was brought under control. The repairs — including repairs to substantial water damage — took months, but the office was out of action for only two days.

Since 2002, a considerable amount of renovation work has taken place. The building's infrastructure has been modernized with the installation of a more efficient and environmentally friendly heating system, double-glazed reinforced windows, new wiring, IT and security systems. At the same time, some of the hitherto rather dilapidated offices are being modernized and redecorated.

with by a co-ordinator from the executive office – essentially the Secretary General's office – and staffing at the seminars themselves depends upon circumstances.

Many other meetings are organized by the Secretary General and the Deputy Secretary General and their executive assistants. These include the Transatlantic Parliamentary Forum, the Annual Study Visit, the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee, the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council, the New Parliamentarians Programme, presidential visits, and Bureau meetings.

Meetings with Russia and Ukraine also involve the Assembly's Adviser for Central and Eastern Europe who also takes the lead role in running the Assembly's Parliamentary Staff Training programmes.

Complex as all these meetings are, they are dwarfed by the Assembly's twice-yearly sessions, which can involve over a thousand participants, and which are the responsibility of the Assembly's Conference Service. Sessions are complex to set up, and each site brings its own particular challenges. Facilities often have to be substantially adapted to render them suitable, and preparations usually begin at least two years before the session takes place. During that preparation phase, staff from the Assembly's Conference Service usually visit the site three times, along with technical specialists who together with the host nation's staff develop plans for setting up the meeting rooms (including interpretation equipment for up to eight languages), laying out office space, and installing the necessary equipment. Plans are also developed for security, social events, and transport.

Underpinning all the International Secretariat's policy work and meeting organization are the essential support services.

Administration and Finance is – as the name suggests – responsible for handling all the Assembly's finances, including budget implementation and development, salaries, taxes, and insurance. It is also involved in the financial arrangements for sessions, seminars, and staff training programmes. This department also deals with all personnel issues including the recruitment, payment and travel of all the temporary staff used by the Assembly, ranging from interpreters for sub-committee meetings up to the 55 temporary staff recruited to assist at annual sessions. Administration and Finance also handles all the general services that are essential for running a busy office and maintaining the Assembly's headquarters building.

There is little need to elaborate on the role played by the Assembly's Documents Service. All the Assembly Reports and countless other documents throughout the year have to be made available in the Assembly's two official languages, and translations frequently have to made at very short notice, particularly prior to and during the Assembly's sessions.

The role of the Assembly's Library is equally obvious and no less essential. To keep abreast of developments in all the Assembly's areas of interest means subscribing to hundreds of paper and electronic sources of information. The Library is also the repository of much of the Assembly's "institutional memory", especially in procedural matters.

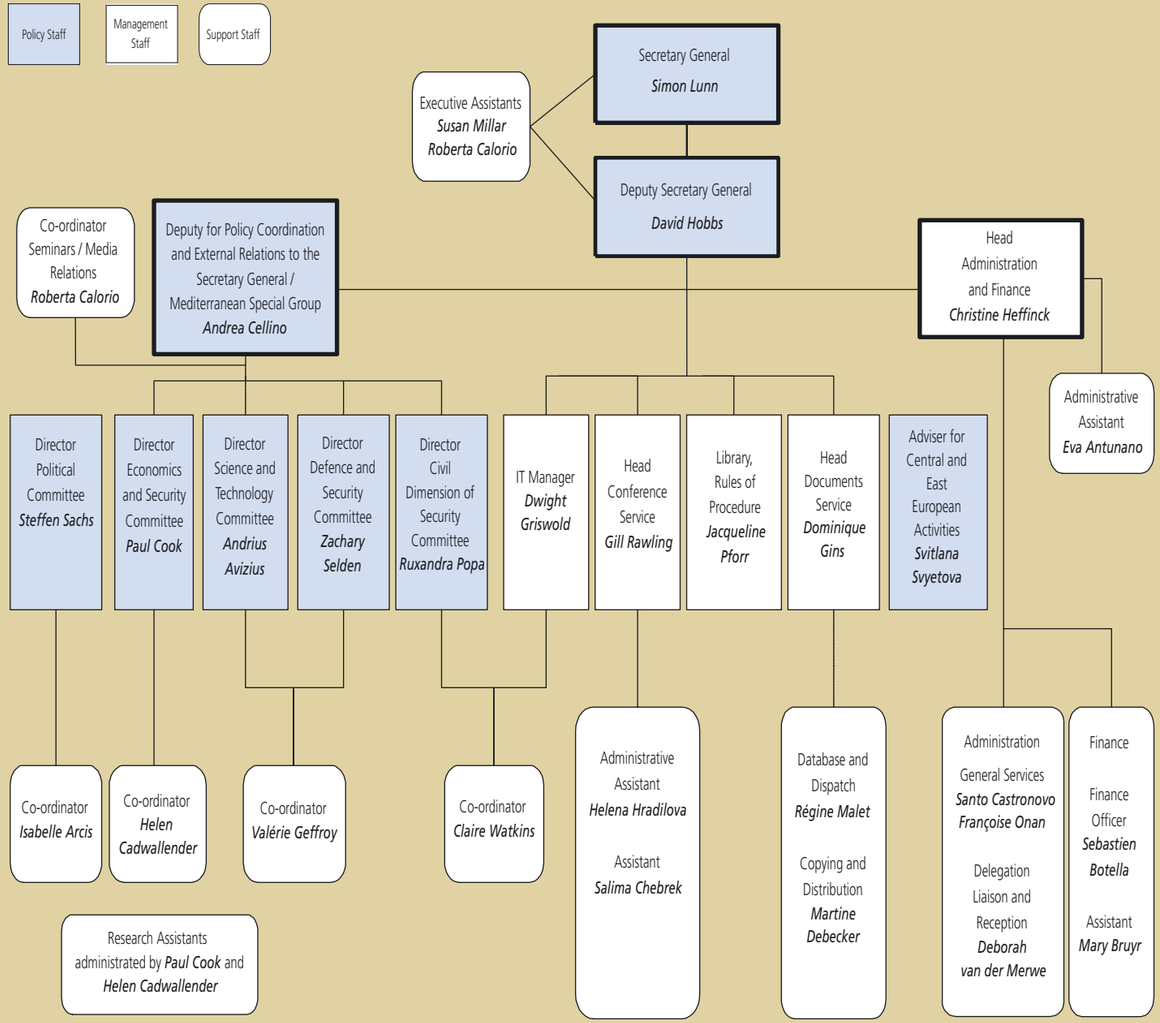
Information technology is absolutely fundamental to the Assembly's operations. Indeed, it is the effective use of information technology that has made it possible for the Assembly's International Secretariat to cope with an explosion of delegations since the end of the Cold War and an enormous increase in the scope and scale of activities, without any increase in the overall number of staff.

The Assembly's management philosophy is – essentially – to give each member of staff as much responsibility as possible and to ensure that the International Secretariat functions as a coherent team. It also strives to maintain the highest professional standards in an environment which is as flexible, informal and efficient as possible.

The International Secretariat

Not present: Mary Bruyr and
Santo Castronovo.
September 2005.

Organizational Chart



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